

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT WEATHERMAN

FILE NO. 100-439048

SECTION NO. 35

SERIALS 2357

THRU

2358

100-434048-2337

CHANGED TO

100-434048-53-62X.

100 137

2004/20/10

c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 7/16/68

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903) (P)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS-SDS; SEDITION
(OO: CHICAGO)

Re Butte letter to Director, 6/12/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten and for Butte four copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

Butte is requested to disseminate copies of the LHM to the military and Secret Service locally.

[REDACTED]

b1

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.,

RAO (ISD, ~~OSI~~, CP)

DATE FORW: 7/23/68

HOW FORW: R/S

BY: WVA/pac
Enc. destroyed

1-9240st.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)

2 - Butte (100-8547) (Enc. 4) (RM)

2 - Chicago

PLT/DLK

(6)

REG-78
EX 109

100-439048-2338

11 JUL 18 1968

REC.

JUL 24 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-40903

AL 1:55

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Reference is made to a previous memorandum captioned
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) dated June 12, 1968,
at Butte, Montana.

[REDACTED] The following
information is noted:

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] b1

Join Community Union, formerly
known as Jobs or Income Now (JOIN)

[REDACTED] advised
that Join Community Union was a community action project of
SDS.

A characterization of SDS appears in the appendix
attached hereto.

[REDACTED] b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and
its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

1482 SJM/jw
2-10-78 100-40903-900
DATE OF [REDACTED]
Pg 6 of 6

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 17 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

1135PM URGENT 7-17-68 DJSG

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 2P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. IS-SDS; SEDITION.

REMYTEL JULY SIXTEEN LAST.

[REDACTED] ADVISED TODAY
APPROXIMATELY THIRTY INDIVIDUALS, INCLUDING SOME NIU
SDS MEMBERS, PARTICIPATED IN PICKET DEMONSTRATION TODAY
OUTSIDE HALL AT NIU FROM TWO PM TO THREE FIFTEEN PM CALLING
FOR END OF DRAFT DURING SPEECH OF COMMANDER JOHN HAMMOCK,
SELECTIVE SERVICE REPRESENTATIVE, WHO SPOKE ON NEW
DRAFT LAWS.

[REDACTED] FURTHER ADVISED APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED AND
EIGHTY PERSONS ATTENDED SPEECH AND OF THOS ATTENDING
APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED TWENTY FIVE WERE AGAINST THE
DRAFT.

END PAGE ONE

57 JUL 26 1968

ST-100

REC-39/100-439048-2339

JUL 18 1968

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

PAGE TWO CB 100 40903

DEMONSTRATION PEACEFUL. NO ARRESTS OR INCIDENTS.

~~QDE~~ KALB PD, LOCAL SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY ADVISED.

LHM FOLLOWS.

~~COER P 12, WRD XXXXXX P 1 L 12 WRD 7 SHD BE THOSE ATTENDING~~

~~P 2 L 2 OMIT G AT BEGINNING OF LINE~~

END

CAB /

FBI WASH DC

P

PUBLISHED BY THE SYNDICATE
30 EAST 42 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.

By Robert S. Allen and John A. Goldsmith

¹⁹⁶⁸
Washington, July 13: The militantly leftist Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is being hectically convulsed by a big dose of its own particular brand of trouble-making medicine — raucous brawling and disruptive dissension.

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP), a pro-Chinese offshoot of the U.S. Communist Party, is aggressively infiltrating SDS in a drive to gain control.

PLP came close to doing that at the recent SDS national convention at Michigan State University, East Lansing. More than 800 delegates from some 200 chapters throughout the country attended the week-long sessions, held behind closely guarded doors and from which the press was truculently barred.

Although PLP's tightly controlled and disciplined group of around 60 was greatly outnumbered, it almost succeeded in capturing domination of the key 11-member National Interim Committee — that formulates SDS policy and strategy.

While thwarted, PLP's power grab was so confusing and disruptive that it largely unhinged the convention.

Delegates spent so much time and energy furiously wrangling over PLP's revolutionary ideology and tactics that scheduled important SDS affairs got short shrift.

100-439017-5210
ENCLOSURE

As a consequence, left up in the air were plans to implement a highly significant change in basic SIS concept and thinking.

In the past year, SIS has shifted from an "anti-imperialist" to an "anti-capitalist" perspective. It is on the verge of embracing socialism, or in the terminology now glibly common among SIS members, "revolutionary communism spelled with a small c."

THE SECRET PLAN

To propagate this new ideology, SIS leaders have evolved a two-pronged campaign — to develop strong regional organizations, and to involve SIS in ghetto activities.

How far SIS will get in these radical aims remains to be seen.

Taking up militant cudgels for the impoverished and disadvantaged, chiefly negro, in blums is far different from staging anti-war and other demonstrations and disturbances on university campuses. Entirely different people, factors and issues are involved.

For example: The recent violent student disorders at Columbia University, in which SIS was active, are one thing. But agitating and organizing "revolutionary consciousness" among ghetto dwellers is something very different.

That's the basic SIS problem, but not for the pro-Chinese communist PLP.

To this small but experienced clique of revolutionaries there is little difference between creating chaos and upheavals on college campuses ^{and} among the ignorant and impoverished in fetid slums.

PLP came into being in New York City in April 1965 at a so-called national convention of communists expelled from the U.S. Party for following the folding line. A 20-member "National Committee" was named to direct the organization until the next

3 — Allen

convention. PLP has a number of publications, among them a theoretical quarterly, a monthly magazine, and so-called newspapers in New York City and on the West Coast.

In New York, PLP has extensively infiltrated SDS and considerably determines its policy. ^{where} This was a subject of angry argument at the Lansing convention.

The Communist Party's designation of a negro woman as its presidential candidate was a deliberate ploy to garner negro support. The original plan was to make Gus Hall, long-time CP General Secretary, the standard bearer. But Moscow ordered otherwise, and he obediently made way for Mrs. Charlene Mitchell, 33, ~~known~~ ^{known} a communist for 22 years.

WHAT'S EXCITING MOSCOW

American jazz ^{music} of all kinds is a major reason for the long-stalled negotiations on a new cultural exchange agreement with Russia.

The old pact expired last December 31. Discussions on a new one have been futilely ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ progress since last September. If and when a new accord will be reached is anyone's guess. After ten months of dickering, there is still no sign of one.

Prominently at the bottom of this prolonged stalemate is the Kremlin's violent ideological disapproval of U.S. jazz, particularly rock and roll.

The Reds want to exclude U.S. combos from ~~entering~~ the Soviet. These pop groups are immensely popular there, ^{they} not only attract huge audiences everywhere, ~~every~~ ^{every} but are rapturously sought out after their performances.

These informal jam sessions, at which there is also a lot of frank talk, especially bug the communist rulers. To them, they are downright subversive and they want to eliminate combo tours from a new cultural exchange agreement. This is a very sore point with them.

h -- Allen

But the U.S. is standing pat and insisting on including jazz. They have been among the most effective pro-American propaganda ^{in Russia} ~~in Russia~~ ^{since} ~~in Russia~~.

U.S. jazz is still further stalling these negotiations although in this particular instance ~~it~~ is in no way involved in cultural exchanges.

The Kremlin is extremely unhappy about MUSIC USA, a project of pop music broadcast worldwide two hours nightly from New York. It is sponsored by the Voice of America, and Willis Conover directs the program. It consists solely of music; there is no propaganda of any kind; and it is immensely popular all over the globe.

Conover claims to have 1,600 fan club, ^{here} and thousands of letters to prove it. He gets a steady flow of mail from Russia expressing exuberant enthusiasm and requesting ^{the tunes} ~~the tunes~~ tunes.

The Kremlin would give a lot to silence MUSIC USA, and has complained angrily about it in the cultural exchange discussions. U.S. negotiators blandly pointed out the program ^{is} ~~is~~ in no way involved in the proposed agreement and there ^{is} ~~is~~ nothing to talk about.

But the Russians are still sputtering about it and dragging their feet on coming to terms.

Also distressing them is the flop of their exhibits here in contrast to the smashing success of those the U.S. sends to Russia. They consist of home appliances and other American products which draw large ^{crowds} ~~crowds~~ ^{admiring} ~~admiring~~ ^{thousands} ~~thousands~~. The Soviet has sent over exhibits of children's art and similar objects of limited appeal. As a result, they have attracted few winners — to the Russians' ^{great delaying} ~~great delaying~~.

U.S. exhibits to the Soviet always are accompanied by carefully trained bilingual college youths who are thoroughly politically oriented. They don't hesitate

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 1-26-66)

Date 7-9-68

To:

☒ Director

FILE NO 100-439048

Att: Dom. Intelligence Div.

☐ SAC

Title Special Agent A

☐ ASAC

Domestic Security

☐ Supv.

25-585 6111

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

Re: _____

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Open Case

☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Bring file

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Call me

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Correct

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Deadline _____

☐ Return serials

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Search and return

☐ Delinquent

☐ See me

☐ Discontinue

☐ Send Serials NOT RECORDED

☒ Expedite

to 15 JUL 19 1968

☐ File

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ For information

☐ Submit report by _____

☐ Handle

☐ Type

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

EX-116

REC-99 2341

75 JUL 20 1968

SAC

JOHN F. MALONE

Office

NEW YORK

See reverse side

T

NEWS

CH.13 BUST
BIG PINK

july 1-15, 1968

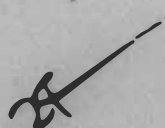
n.y.c 15¢ outside 25¢



100-439048-2342

CHANGED TO

100-450542-1


AUG 8 1968

mk pc

7-44 (Rev. 3-18-63)

SUE Legat, Tokyo (100-275)

August 8, 1968

Director, FBI (100-439048) - 2-343

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
(SDS)

EX-100-439048

MAILED 24
AUG 12 1968

COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Nationalities Intelligence Section, sent direct with enclosure)
- 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit sent direct without enclosure.

WIK:dep

(5)

Enc. 54

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

5-11-68

FBI

Date: 7/15/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-114) (100-349140) (100-439040)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-38841) (100-24800) (100-40903)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS
IS - C

 b7c
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

Re Chicago letter to Bureau 7/3/68 captioned
"CP, USA, PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS, IS - C"
Chicago airtel to Bureau 5/29/68 captioned "STUDENTS
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS - SDS".

Enclosed for the Bureau are 10 copies of LHM
dated and captioned as above.

-  b1
- ⑥ - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)
 - (3 - 100-3-114)
 - (1 - 100-349140)
 - (1 - 100-439040)
 - (1 - 100-449698) (Info.) (COINTELPRO)
 - 6 - Chicago
 - (1 - 100-38841)
 - (1 - 100-24800)
 - (1 - 100-40903)
 - (1 - 100-45316)
 - (1 - 100-44710)

PLT:dmv
(12)

NOT RECORDED
165 JUL 19 1968

Approved: 

ENCLOSURE

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M _____

Per _____

59 AUG 6 - 1968

CARBON COPY

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-114-1180

CG 100-38841
CG 100-24800
CG 100-40903

[REDACTED] b1

The LHM is classified ~~Confidential~~ since it contains information from a source, the disclosure of whose identity could adversely effect the security of the United States.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

July 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-34841

100-24800

100-40903

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Reference is made to Chicago memorandum dated June 21, 1966, captioned "Communist Party, USA, Public Appearance of Party Leaders, Internal Security - C" and Chicago memorandum dated May 29, 1968, captioned "Students for a Democratic Society".

[REDACTED] a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that on May 16, 1968, Lou Diskin addressed a group of students on the campus of the University of Illinois, Circle Campus (UICC), Chicago and made remarks concerning the Communist Party. His appearance was sponsored by an Ad Hoc Committee for academic freedom at UICC. b7d

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Classification Retained
CLASSIFIED BY 1482 SSM/jor
EXEMPT FROM GDS 2-10-78
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Pg 2 Para 1

100-439048-

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~classification~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

[REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] UICC Chancellor Norman A. Parker had informed the organizations comprising the Ad Hoc Committee for Academic Freedom that Diskin's appearance was considered a violation of UICC regulations and of the State of Illinois Clabaugh Act which prohibits any member of a subversive organization from publicizing its activities on University of Illinois property and that the organizations comprising the Ad Hoc Committee including the SDS, were suspended until further notice.

A characterization of SDS appears in the appendix attached hereto.

The July 11, 1968, issue of the "Chicago Daily News" on page one carried an article captioned " 'Subversive' Speaker Ban at UI Killed". The article stated in part as follows:

"An Illinois law that bans 'subversive' speakers from University of Illinois campuses was declared unconstitutional Thursday by a panel of three federal judges".

"The panel said the 1947 Clabaugh Act was 'an unjustifiable prior restraint of speech that lacks procedural safeguards required for a form of regulation amounting to censorship'".

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

"The strongly worded court ruling said the Clabaugh Act was 'impermissibly vague' and 'abhorrent to the Constitution of the United States both on its face and as applied' by the university trustees".

The above mentioned newspaper article stated that this decision resulted from a suit brought by 27 students and faculty members of the UICC. The 27 sued the university in 1966 shortly after it had denied Lou Diskin use of university facilities for a speech.

The Clabaugh Act according to the article forbids the use of university facilities for any subversive seditious and un-American organizations for the purpose of carrying on advertising or publicizing the activities of such organizations.

Members of the panel hearing this matter were United States District Judges Alexander Napoli, and Bernard M. Decker, and Judge Roger J. Kiley of the United States Court of Appeals. According to the article, Judge Napoli writing for the unanimous panel declared "The university denied plaintiffs the opportunity to hear the speaker of their choice solely on the basis of the speaker's association and views to be espoused".

"We hold that the Clabaugh Act both on its face and as applied to these plaintiffs has denied them due process of law because it lacks the precision of language of a statute regulating an area so closely intertwined with First Amendment liberties; because it is an unjustifiable prior restraint to speech; and because it lacks procedural safeguard required for a form of regulation amounting to censorship".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The "Chicago Sun Times" issue of July 12, 1968, on page three carried an article captioned "Court Voids Ban On 'Subversive' Illini Speakers." The article stated in part as follows:

"Student leaders immediately began making plans to have Communists speak at the Chicago Circle campus".

"However, university officials said they have not decided whether the ruling will result in changes in their policy on campus speakers. They added that they do not know whether they will appeal the decision".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 16 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

340PM URGENT 7/16/68 CNS

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IS-SDS; SEDITION

ADVISED

TODAY NIU SDS MEMBERS PLAN TO DEMONSTRATE AT NIU TWO
P.M. JULY SEVENTEEN NEXT PROTESTING APPEARANCE OF SELECTIVE
SERVICE REPRESENTATIVE COMMANDER JOHN HAMMOCK WHO IS
SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT NIU ON THE NEW DRAFT LAW.

NIU OFFICIALS, DE KALB PD, LOCAL SECRET SERVICE
AND MILITARY ADVISED. CHICAGO FOLLOWING THROUGH
ESTABLISHED SOURCES. LHM FOLLOWS.

ENDL

LPT

FBI WASH DC

61 JUL 29 1968

EX-110 REC-51

JUL 23 1968

5-R

FBI

Date: 7/17/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS-SDS; SEDITION

Re Chicago teletype 7/16/68 captioned as above.

Commander JOHN HAMMOCK, Selective Service representative with offices in Springfield, Illinois, was contacted by agents of the Chicago Office at DeKalb, Illinois, on the AM of 7/17/68 and confidentially advised of the receipt of information indicating intention of Northern Illinois University SDS Chapter to demonstrate against his scheduled appearance at that university 7/17/68.

(3) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago
RLS:neb
(4)

REC 45 100-439048-2346

EX-116

14 JUL 18 1968

D. O. Bishop

INT/SEC.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

JUL 31 1968

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop ✓
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen ✓
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

Hoover Reports...

SDS Workshop Deals in Violence

By THOMAS TALBOT
 Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

A recent workshop held by the Students for a Democratic Society dealt with "the finer points of firing Molotov cocktails from shotguns" and attacks on Selective Service centers, FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover reported today.

Mr. Hoover said SDS, which played a major role in last spring's riots at Columbia University and other colleges, held the workshop during its annual convention at Michigan State University, East Lansing, last month.

Reporters who covered the convention said they were barred from the workshop by vote of the SDS delegates.

In an annual report summarizing FBI investigations, Mr. Hoover said today:

"The participants discussed various devices which might be developed for use in planned attacks on Selective Service facilities and in connection with other forms of violent demonstrations."

Mr. Hoover, who previously has identified SDS as a communist-infiltrated core of the New Left student movement, added:

"They explored the use of combustible materials and the

various types of bombs which could be devised to destroy communications and plumbing systems of strategic buildings.

"They even discussed the finer points of firing Molotov cocktails from shotguns, as well as similar forms of so-called defense measures which could be used in defiance of police action."

The SDS, which has claimed up to 35,000 members on some 250 college campuses, openly has urged young men to avoid the draft and advised servicemen to desert and "go underground."

The FBI Director also commented on black nationalist groups, which he said have been undergoing racial change and in some instances pose a serious threat to the nation's internal security.

"... Many of these groups are becoming hate-type organizations and are preaching hatred of the white race, advocating violence, and demanding immunity from all laws — local, state and Federal," said Mr. Hoover.

He praised "loyal and patriotic members of the Negro community who have provided the FBI invaluable assistance in penetrating these groups with informants."

FILE

The Washington Post

Times Herald _____

The Washington Daily News 4

The Evening Star (Washington) _____

The Sunday Star (Washington) _____

Daily News (New York) _____

Sunday News (New York) _____

New York Post _____

The New York Times _____

The Sun (Baltimore) _____

The Worker _____

The New Leader _____

The Wall Street Journal _____

The National Observer _____

People's World _____

Date / JUL 18 1968

100-439048-A

NOT RECORDED

46 JUL 30 1968

JUL 30 1968

NO ack necessary
 Bureau release
 7-18-68
 87

100-439048-2347

CHANGED TO

100-439048-34-232X

11. 179
100-439048-34-232X

C

SAC, Chicago (100-40903)

7/29/68

Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

ReDElet dated 7/19/68 which requested that 49 copies be made of 514 photographs of individuals who attended the 1968 SDS National Convention held in East Lansing, Michigan, June 9-15, 1968.

The Bureau has previously issued instructions that it is necessary to identify all of the delegates to the Convention so that appropriate investigations could be conducted to ascertain if these individuals should be included on the Security Index. The Bureau agrees that photographs should be displayed to informants and sources to effect this identification. However, to conserve cost in this matter only ten sets of the 514 photographs are being printed at the Bureau.

One of these sets will be furnished the Chicago Office under separate communication and Chicago will take prompt action in handling this matter. This set of photographs should then be forwarded to Kansas City, New Orleans, Oklahoma City, Omaha and St. Louis in that order so that the photographs may be promptly displayed to appropriate informants and sources in those offices.

- 2 - Kansas City (100-12142)
- 2 - New Orleans (100-17205)
- 2 - Oklahoma City (100-7172)
- 2 - Omaha (100-6890)
- 2 - St. Louis (100-19785)
- 1 - Detroit (100-30957)

WNP:jav (15)

NOTE: *gn*

The Photo Unit has advised that if Detroit's request of making 49 copies of 514 photographs was undertaken, the cost would be approximately \$2,500. The cost of making up 10 sets will be approximately \$514.

MAILED 19
JUL 26 1968
COMM - FBI

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Rosen
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

54 AUG 1 1968 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-439048-2348
REC 17

8961-83-111-123

JUL 26 1968

SAC, Chicago (100-40903)

7-26-68

Director, FBI

REC-39

100-439048-2349

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1
1
1

b7C

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - SDS

GENERAL

Your attention is called to page eight of the June 24, 1968, issue of "New Left Notes" which concerns an SDS National Interim Council (NIC) meeting on June 15, 1968. At this meeting reference was made to an SDS sponsored trip to Cuba in August, 1968, and that applications were to be sent to the SDS National Office prior to the NIC meeting of July 19-22, 1968. Up to 40 people can make the trip which will be similar to the one made to Cuba in February, 1968, by 20 SDS members.

The Department of State has also advised that it has received information that five candidates for the trip are from the Texas-Oklahoma area, with two from Austin, one from Houston and one from Norman.

State

It is further noted that a number of other international travel items were mentioned at the NIC meeting of June 15, 1968. The Bureau has not received any communications from the Chicago Office concerning these various trips on the part of SDS personnel and Chicago should take immediate steps to identify the participants and advise the Bureau by appropriate communications.

San Antonio, Houston, Dallas and Oklahoma City should attempt to promptly identify the SDS individuals from their respective areas who will be traveling to Cuba and submit appropriate communications suitable for dissemination concerning them.

- 1 - San Antonio (100-9833)
- 1 - Houston (100-10114)
- 1 - Dallas (100-10993)
- 1 - Oklahoma City (100-7172)

WNP:ted
(11)

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JUL 25 1968
COMM-FBI

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57 AUG 6 - 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC- 71

100-439048-25-

7/25

67C

111

[REDACTED]

Chicago handle the request re the coffee house set forth on page two of Department letter.

This should be handled without delay.

2 - Chicago (Enc.)

PFR: Jar
(8)

NOTE:

Department, in review of intelligence analysis 6/20/68, requested clarification of resolution to provide support to deserters, and whether violations of Sedition and Espionage - Supporting Statutes exist. It further requested whether any statutes violated when project to establish of drop-in centers near military facilities complete.

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54

MAILED 3
JUL 29 1968
COMM-FBI

34 AUG - 8 1968

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 7-29-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages E7018-E7019. Congressman Wyman, (R) New Hampshire, stated some indication of the real objectives of the organization calling itself Students for a Democratic Society can be gleaned from a letter sent to Mrs. Alma M. Kittredge of Meriden, Conn., on July 8 by its national secretary, Michael Klonsky. If the objective of revolution by violence is not implicit in Klonsky's signed statement I misread it. - - - In any event Michael Klonsky's words are fair warning to all Americans that something is seriously wrong with at least this segment of our younger citizens." Mr. Wyman inserted the letter in the Record.

REC 45

SI-103

NOT RECORDED

43 AUG 1 1968

2351

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 7-27-68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

53

Original filed in: 68-1731-

F B I

Date: 7/23/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903) (P)
 SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
 IS-SDS; SEDITION

Remytels, 7/16 - 17/68, and Chicago airtel,
 dated 7/17/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven (11)
 copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) which sets
 forth information concerning a demonstration, which had
 SDS members participating, held at Northern Illinois University
 (NIU), De Kalb, Illinois, on 7/17/68.

Copies of the enclosed LHM are also being
 furnished to the U.S. Secret Service, Chicago, and Region
 I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois, in view of these
 agencies interest in this matter.

EX-103

④-924 DST
 4 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
 (1 - 14-2941) (SDS - SEDITION)
 1 - Chicago

ELS/vel
 (5)

ENCLOSURE

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. DEPT.

RAO (ISD, SEC, CD)

DATE FORW: 7/30/68

HOW FORW: ALB

C. C. Bishop

BY: WMP/pe

4 JUL 26 1968

INT. SEC.

54 AUG 28 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

JUL 23 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40903

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

[REDACTED] b7d
[REDACTED] advised on July 16, 1968, that NIU SDS members have made plans to conduct a picket demonstration at NIU on July 17, 1968, commencing at 2:00 P. M. to protest the presence of Commander John Hammock, Selective Service Representative, who is scheduled to speak at NIU on July 17, 1968, on the changes recently made in the draft laws.

[REDACTED] b7d
[REDACTED] advised on July 17, 1968, that approximately thirty individuals, including several NIU SDS members, participated in a picket demonstration on this date, outside the hall at NIU where Commander John Hammock, Selective Service Representative, spoke on the topic of the new draft laws. According to [REDACTED] this demonstration commenced at 2:00 P. M. and was terminated at 3:15 P. M. The demonstrators called for the end of the draft.

[REDACTED] further advised that approximately 180 persons attended Commander Hammock's speech and of those attending approximately 125 were against the draft. b7d

[REDACTED] also advised that the aforementioned demonstration was peaceful with no arrests or incidents. b7d

The following individuals were advised of the above information:

[REDACTED] b7C
Region I
113th MI Group
Evanston, Illinois

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-40903-100
ENCLOSURE

RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

[REDACTED] b7C
United States Secret Service
Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED]
De Kalb Police Department
De Kalb, Illinois

[REDACTED]
Selective Service Representative
Springfield, Illinois

Characterization of the SDS is attached
hereto.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

100-439048-(2353) 2354

CHANGED TO

100-439048-252-(16X)

100-439048-11-79X

AUG 5 1971

W N / M. H. W

C



UNIT , STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

July 25, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY**

Bureau file 100-439048

Chicago file 100-40903

21

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPROVED 7/30/68
DATE

WNP

NOT RECORDED
8 JUL 27 1968

INT/SEC.

1 AUG 8 1968

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 4-20-67)

Date 7/25/68

To:

☒ Director

FILE 100-40063

CG 100-40063

Special Service Desk Unit

Special Investigation Division

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY; IS-CDS

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

RE:

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare ticket

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Send to

☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

Attached are two copies of "New Left Notes",
Volume 3, # 22, issue of 7/78/68. These copies
do not have to be retained for evidentiary
purposes.

Encl. 2

REGISTERED

ENCLOSURE

SAC

M.M. JOHNSON

Office

Chicago

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

56 AUG 19 1968

see also note on page three!!

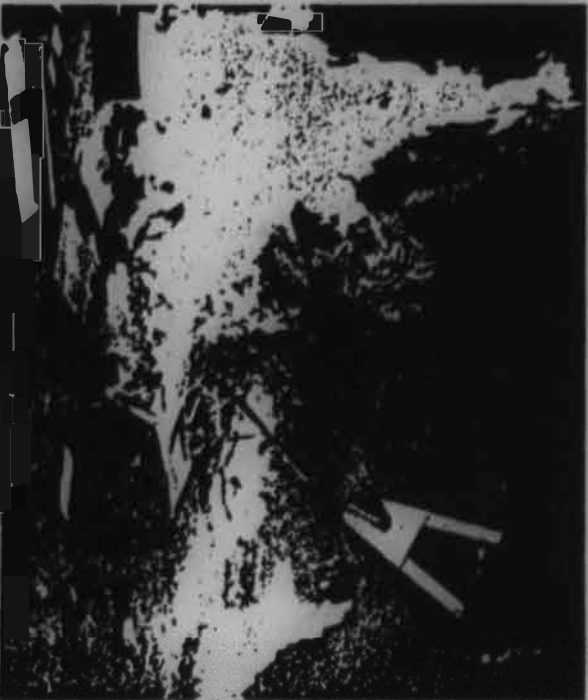
NEW LEFT NOTES
Box 206
1001 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612
LETTERS REQUESTED

100

[illegible]

100-437018-2352

Berkeley: 'The People, Yes!'



Some tactical eye-dropper barricades were set up for greater effect. Results seemed to vary, however, and it wasn't always strategic. LMS photo

by Allen Young
Liberation News Service, SFO

Berkeley, California, July 26—Today the students of Berkeley, most of them young, by irrefutable, undeniable and indisputable evidence of the signing of the Declaration of Independence early today afternoon, to the pavement of Telegraph Avenue, the sign says, "The United States of the University of California campus, this day of April 1976, we signed a copy of the same thing, reading of a copy of copy and a three leaf letter. At least three thousand people were involved in some of the same actions, and several hundred participated in the street actions.

The rebellion was most shocking on Sunday, June 20th, when orders was declared. Students reacted by breaking dozens of storefront windows. The sound of breaking glass, heard by the political leader of a subversion, was saying "No" to the cop-out to the curfew and to the city fathers. "The people yes" clattered the broken panes.

It all began on Friday, June 25th, when a rally in solidarity with French students and workers sponsored by the Young

Students Alliance (YSA), the first division of the Berkeley Future Party (Berkeley). The YSA, formed to resist for a period for the rally, and the police threatened to stop it, and the rally was interrupted.

The crowd was spread widely, and the students held back to keep the crowd in the streets.

During the weekend, the students of the University of California, the same day were holding the City of Berkeley. The students of the University of California, the same day were holding the City of Berkeley. The students of the University of California, the same day were holding the City of Berkeley.

For a complete account of the days of Berkeley, turn to page 7.

TURN TO PAGE 7

The next night, Saturday, June 26th, under the slogan "YSA" the students of the University of California, the same day were holding the City of Berkeley. The students of the University of California, the same day were holding the City of Berkeley.

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 W. Madison St.

Chicago, Illinois

Words of the Nation

buildings—who voted twenty-to-three for leaving the buildings. PL was among those inside fighting for escalating.

Let's look at Halliwell's line as he tries to get out from under his Student Power politics and pin the rap on PL. In his "Open Letter to the Membership on Columbia's Student Movement" (NLN Convention issue, June 1967), Halliwell characterizes the PL line on base-building as reformist. "No Student Power issue was too reformist for our PL brothers—curriculum committees in departments, even organizing around dorm hours. Build a base, any old base."

But the base-building proposal put forth by PLers in SDS at the Bloomington NC (December 1967) clearly stated the need for SDS to build an anti-imperialist, pro-working-class base. We see imperialism ripping apart all aspects of people's lives, and want SDS to take up issues most of us have not dared to tackle so far. Instead of Halliwell's fear of "submerging our politics" in struggle around people's day-to-day needs, we should have the courage to win them to our outlook, through mutual experience and political struggle.

Halliwell's "Cliche" proposal (National Convention, East Lansing, June 1968 through 1968), however, takes up no concrete problems urban workers face: wage cuts, rising prices and taxes, slum housing, lack of hospitals, concentration camp public schooling, dope, and other cultural oppression. This is strange, because if Halliwell who always tries to come off as the guy concerned with "decisions that affect people's lives."

Yet at the recent Convention, it was Halliwell who proposed to turn SDS from a perspective of becoming a mass-based, anti-imperialist movement with this "to working people" line. He is saying that mainly students and professionals will make the Revolution; altered, it can be interred into essential

working class must lead the class struggle to socialism and proletarian dictatorship, that is working-class state power.

Halliwell uses the cliche "Old Left" to hide his real politics.

It is weird to hear Halliwell accuse PL of "popular frontism". In the December NC, Halliwell fought for SDS to work closely with the Mobilization Committee (whose last performance in New York, April 26th, starred Mayor Lindsay, whose cops were readying to attack students at Columbia). PL opposed such pop frontism. We said that instead of forming phony alliances from the top and trying to "influence" other "leaders", we must build a mass, anti-imperialist base from below—in struggle.

"Build a base, any old base" is a fitting interpretation of this line from a guy who made one of his rare appearances at a chapter meeting in December to raise money for his trip to Vietnam. Or is this what Halliwell means in his "Open Letter" by "organizing around the prime contradictions of imperialism?"

PL's line, far from being demobilized, was proven to the hilt. What the hell does Halliwell think enabled us to seize buildings and hold out for a week against both the threat and the actuality of police force if not base-building ("two years of educational work around clear-cut radical issues", by his own admission, work in which PLers played a leading role), biting hard, and above all the worker-student alliance—uniting in action with the very Black community which was the first to rise up in armed rebellion against police terror in 1964? Nobody looked to an alliance with the "new" working class: Everyone looked to Harlem. Does he think our chapter led a struggle of thousands of students for the Liberal School he's heading this summer, or be sure we wanted to stop the gym and force Columbia out of IDA?

The answer is that Halliwell was and is for Student Power; the "liberalized" classes

here, again, in his "Open Letter", we see Halliwell's failure to take the workers' side in sharp class struggle. "PL thought we should just close the place down, as if our strike was a simple protest for change at the University. They failed to realize that as revolutionaries we have an alternative conception of the university and society, and we must work in every situation to build institutions on a new foundation. Re-opening the University was like making a start on that new society, simply closing it down was like workers accepting Capitalism and asking for better wages. Again PL could not get beyond a Student Power position."

As revolutionaries, our task is to fight and defeat US imperialism, not concoct a self-interested "alternative conception" of the university. What we must build in every situation is the political and organizational ability to win our demands—revolutionary advance—not castles of sand like "institutions on a new foundation".

At Columbia, it was crucial to win, because of the clear class issues and masses of people involved. In order to build a movement that serves the people, not just our own selves.

And there it is. Re-open the university, Fuck stopping the gym ("a simple protest for change at the University"), Fuck the people of Harlem. Let Columbia throw them out of their homes. We can always hold a "liberalized" class on it. In fact Truman himself would "liberalize" Columbia for us if he thought that's all we'd do.

The New Working Class-Student Power line is a complete emasculation of the question of state power and which class in society holds it. What are Halliwell's above remarks if not an expression of class collaboration, of "coward" institutions with the bourgeoisie under their class dictatorship.

We say that there can be no such thing as a university run under "our auspices" while the country is owned and run by

class society, the class that holds state power. Therefore the failure of that institution. We want to lead workers and their allies in overthrowing the bourgeois state that controls, exploits, and takes our people's lives, and we say so openly. We want socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to destroy and bury imperialism.

PL's role at the outset was to organize, not retreat. We were not alone a "liberalized" school as being primary. Since Halliwell raises the "Challenge" article I wrote, PL's role again: "People have changed. Many students now want to fight and defeat Columbia's racism. This is not a fight for structural reform. NO NEW, FEEL, OR DEMOCRATIC UNIVERSITY CAN EXIST UNDER IMPERIALISM."

PL's line—my line—is the strike was to close Columbia down in order to win our demands. We had the forces to do it. The Columbia Rebellion and Strife was for reform, not revolution, that is the seizure of state power. But Columbia advanced the understanding and ideology of most of those who took part. That was the revolutionary aspect of the struggle. Let the real revolutionaries, jet-set tourists, and madonnas speak for themselves. Let's build a movement, and the struggles that are its basis, that serve and advance the right to defeat imperialism.

Need Money?

Be a sales representative for a socio-political-artistic say poster line. Ideal for individuals and organizations. Write for complete poster profit list.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, Box 427, Wayzata, MN 55391.

A Message from Michael

Below is the text of a statement made by Mike Klenoff, to be broadcast over Radio Habana, as an Independence Day message.

On July 4th, we in the United States celebrate the anniversary of our struggle for independence from the colonial power of the British empire. SDS along with many other young people throughout this country have come to understand that the American Revolution for independence, personal freedom, and self-determination has yet to be fought and won.

Throughout this country, thousands of people are still fighting for those ideals of 1776. They are facing the full force and power of reaction. In Washington, thousands of poor people coming to demonstrate for more food and jobs were beaten savagely by the police, gassed, and put into prison. In the ghettos, black people, demanding self-determination and equality, have instead had their communities invaded by the National Guard and police. Hundreds have been killed in the streets of Harlem, Watts, Detroit, and Cleveland and on the campuses of many black universities.

The student movement now faces the same type of repression. Hundreds of Columbia University students are facing long prison terms because they dared to struggle for an end to university complicity with the racist and destructive system of world imperialism. At this very moment, students at Berkeley are being attacked by police because they wish to demonstrate their support for their brothers in France, fighting against French fascism.

We in SDS understand that the struggles for black liberation in America, for self-determination in Vietnam, and for socialism in Cuba are all part of one struggle, our struggle.

On this 191st anniversary of national independence, we in SDS are asserting our own independence from the oppressive system of American imperialism. We will not serve in the Army to kill our brothers in Vietnam because our fight is here in America, toward the defeat of Capitalism and imperialism.

On the 4th of July, we will not celebrate the freedom which we do not yet have. July 26th has more meaning for many of us than does July 4th. Instead, we will recommit ourselves to the struggle for liberation, peace, and a new America.

reply to halliwell

trained in intelligence services. I learned that the NO fails to provide the Movement with program, presenting to the national organization what is learned through the experience of individual chapters, then the same mistakes will be repeated again and again by every chapter that begins a new kind of work.

I realize that the NO has tried to get people who are doing work to describe to others how to set up similar projects; there is a real problem in getting people to write. All that I can promise is that this will be done as actively as possible. So far, getting people to write up their work in a form useful to the whole Movement does not seem an impossible task.

I do not want to criticize the previous NO. I am not fully aware right now of the obstacles that it faced. But I do know that many people, particularly in the most active chapters, have despaired of the NO, and so far as they are concerned I might as well not exist. This attitude is intolerable. The thrust of the Movement must be national.

It is important to have a series of national discussions. We are now soliciting discussion of Colver's Guardian series—parts of which will, hopefully, be printed in New Left Notes—as well as discussion of PL's position. This series will be merely the beginning of national discussion of basic direction.

Program

There is very little SDS material which is valuable to people who are setting up new programs. SDS, for example, has put out no pamphlet on how to do Draft counseling, labor organizing, or farm organizing. This means that every chapter that begins a new project has to learn from its own mistakes alone.

Programmatic pamphlets should originate (1) how to do things, (2) the kinds of problems that one runs up against in doing them, and (3) the place of a program described in the wider political context.



Encouraging progress continues in the case of Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Minister of Information. As previously reported, Cleaver was arrested April 18 following a shoot-out with Oakland police, and his parole was revoked the following day, without benefit of trial or hearing. There was nothing unusual in such action by the California Adult Authority, which merely pursued the course of politically-based harassment set by Oakland police and other law-enforcement agencies.

What was unusual was the decision by

on which the authority must appear before him and show cause why they should not be held in custody of state. Provision was also made for the hearing of a permanent injunction against any such hearing by the authority.

Edwards said of this "extraordinary ruling": "I have no doubt that there are some people, in all parts of the country, who are going to do the right thing when they see it."

Shaw had stated in the decision that "the part of Mr. (Cleaver's) parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing his political goals—goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries."

"Not only was there absence of cause for consideration of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure subverting to any the level—to the law enforcement of this State."

The move is significant in itself, doubly so because it permits Cleaver to get back into regarding for the release of Huey Newton. The fact remains that, despite the work of men like Judge Sharda and radical white lawyer Charles Garry—who secured Cleaver's release—efforts of the rest of the law have been largely successful. In fact most of the Panther's legal and financial resources are still tied up in hanging out of jail. Repudiation of these resources is severely needed, and contributions should be sent to the Eldridge Cleaver Defense Fund in care of The Black Panther Party, 4421 Green Street, Oakland, California.

Cleaver will also continue work as his campaign for US President. Tom Hayden will be adding to Cleaver's white campaign manager as the Party's 1st P-1st 2nd 3rd 4th, including Cleaver as the state district in which he will be running two years ago) and Bobby Spivey for State Assembly. There is also some talk—which will be taken up in later issues of New Left Notes—of the possibility of Carl Oglesby's joining the ticket as Vice-presidential candidate.

You'll be getting THE MOVEMENT...

The current issue of The Movement (in it a long interview with Black Panther Minister of Defense Huey Newton) is being sent out soon on the New Left Notes mailing list.

We're doing this not only because the contents are in themselves important, but also because the paper is.

As a fraternal organization, The Movement represents both educational and fraternal resources that people should be aware of and use.

Bulk rates, etc., available from The Movement, 449 14th St., San Francisco

July 28th, 1968 New Left Notes

Education Secretary's Incoming

Report:

USE US!



by Fred Gordon

What is the role of the National Office? The role of the National Office is to be useful to the Movement. "Usefulness" has bounds. It does not mean that the NO formulates its own policy which it seeks to impose on the organization, and it does not mean that the NO has its own analysis of American society which it presents to the press as SDS's position. Usefulness means that first the NO is responsible for the mechanics of "getting out the mail" and running an efficient office. But, beyond that, it has more complex functions. These can be described as (1) defining the issues, both theoretical and practical, which come up in Movement work and seeking to resolve these issues by soliciting debate and making sure that the debate is generally understood; and (2) presenting program possibilities to the Movement by getting people who are involved in Movement work to describe how such work can be done.

Perhaps there are obstacles to the successful fulfillment of these functions that I have not run into yet—some strange nucleus gas that rises from the ventilating system of the NO and paralyzes its functions; but so far it seems to me that these tasks are by no means impossible. The failure of the NO to define issues will lead to disasters—and the last National Convention was

The NO, it seems to me, has an enormously unrealized potential for servicing the Movement in crucial ways. This is no time for "having one's own thing". Use the NO!

I.

Some Issues: P.L., Calvert, & What's at Stake

I do not pretend to have a finger on every conception of where the Movement should go. But it should be clear to everyone that if P.L. does not have the opportunity to argue the rationality of its position, SDS will repeat the catastrophe of the last NC. I have begun to pull together a debate between the positions of SDS and P.L. for New Left Notes. What we do not want is twenty or thirty articles that say almost the same thing. We do wish as many people as possible to respond. Some of these articles will be printed. But we demand that the issues be comprehensible to everyone who reads New Left Notes.

To this end, we will seek to clarify and unify arguments and positions. This means that there will be an editorial policy for New Left Notes—not in the sense that we will put forth opinions, but rather in the sense that we will seek to state issues as clearly as possible. The paper exists for the readers, and will print only what is useful to them. On the issue of the basic direction

I am now trying to solicit such pamphlets, and have promises for at least three, one on hospital organizing, one on community organizing, and one on Draft counseling. We are also seeking to become a clearing house for course critique material. In the end we wish to be able to supply people with sound objections to most courses in high schools and colleges in the social sciences.

This is the beginning of an effort to put out good programmatic literature, and does not necessarily reflect what kind of literature you need, and we will try to produce it.

III.

Sundry Things

We are looking, of course, for good research on the power structure,

imperialism, labor, and other radical issues. We are seeking translators of French, German, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Italian, and Spanish so that we can have some idea of what the New Left is doing abroad. Hopefully, we will be able to turn out small portions of foreign places so that we will be greatly hardened. We are trying to compile a list of people who might be available for reviewing books. Write and tell us what field you are in, and we will send you notices of books for which you can volunteer.

IV.

It goes without saying that the NO should not lose touch with the needs of the Movement. Write us and tell us what your chapters need and what you are doing. The NO is another effort for horizontalism. [the end]

Brother Cleaver's Out

Solomon County Superior Court Judge Raymond J. Sherrin to grant Cleaver a writ of habeas corpus, releasing him on \$100,000 bail, on the grounds that the Adult Authority had provided parole for

illegal manner.

This case is yet another arena in which the Movement is raising a fight against the repressive use of conspiracy indictments, and has bearing in that sense on cases all over the country.

The outcome would also provide a good legal basis for the other four accused brothers; Floyd told us that still more indictments are expected, for other militants in Houston.

A battery of lawyers from around the country are working on the TSU case; however, in such a serious frame-up, public pressure will be a significant factor in determining the fate of the brothers.

Floyd stressed to us the need to establish a state wide Movement defense organization in Texas. He says that in an ordinary misdemeanor bust it can take as much as two or three weeks just to obtain a lawyer in some cities. A Chicago defense group already exists in San Antonio, and a support group has formed for the TSU Five in Houston; however Floyd emphasized that forming an organization around the support of one case, such as his own, would not sustain the kind of political organization which will be needed ever more frequently in the coming months in Texas. Instead, it seems that SDS chapters, Chicago organizations, and black student and community organizations are going to have to organize a defense committee which can issue publicity, obtain legal defense and bail, raise money, and build locally on a steadier basis, around local arrests and frame-ups.

We talked about publicity for the TSU case. The accused brothers have been labeled in the bourgeois press as black nationalist-SNCC-commie-Muslim agitators who were sent into Houston to stir up the campus and community. The Red and the other underground papers throughout the South have to take up the main work of getting the truth about these cases out to the broad student community.

The conversation with Floyd suggested several organizing ideas to us:

(1) In conjunction with the TSU Five's trial and Huey Newton's trial, a major

first group, and a just using the power comes from the thing economic, social, religious, historical, and racial background...they would have to choose black people from the black community to sit up on the jury.

(10) We want land, we want bread, we want housing, we want clothing, we want education, we want justice, we want peace.

Convention Statement on Huey and Panthers

The Black Panther Party has been organizing for the last two years in the Oakland ghetto, around a program of seeking social justice and dignity for the black man. Because they have developed a revolutionary perspective on the liberation of the black community, they have been met with a concentrated program of repression (thinly disguised behind a legalistic veil) including armed police attacks, false arrests, and the revocation of Eldridge Cleaver's parole.

Huey P. Newton, the Black Panther Party Minister of Defense and its chief theoretician, has been held in prison for eight months pending trial on the charge of murdering an Oakland pig. There is no question that his is, above all, a political case. From the confines of his cell, Huey Newton has said that he believes that he is being tried not solely as a black man, but as a revolutionary. SDS supports the work of the Black Panther Party in fighting for the liberation of black people. We believe that America has no right to try Huey Newton, since the power structure that he is fighting against controls the courts in which he will be tried.

HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!

In order to implement these beliefs, the SDS National Convention pledges:

(1) that it will give full support, in whatever manner is needed, to the defense of Huey P. Newton;

(2) that the SDS membership will work in local areas across the country to build support for Huey Newton's defense;

(3) that the National Office will co-ordinate a national program of education about and full support for the Black Panther Party.

IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

(1) Charles Garry, attorney for Huey Newton, is currently collecting useless jurian affidavits. He is getting them from lawyers, criminologists, psychologists, and sociology professors. The argument of the affidavits is that it is impossible to determine through normal questioning of a prospective juror whether that juror is racist. Therefore it is impossible to guarantee the selection of a fair jury. SDS members should attempt to collect affidavits to that effect from sociology professors in their area.

Affidavits should be taken in duplicate. The original copy should be sent to Charles Garry, c/o Karen Wald, 625 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. A duplicate should be sent to The Black Panther Party, 4431 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

(2) Petitions of clemency should be circulated by local chapters discussing Huey Newton's case and demanding that he be set free. Completed petitions should be sent to the Black Panther office at the above address.

(3) Chapters should attempt to raise money for Huey Newton's defense.

(4) Chapters should conduct educational programs, forums, at centers about the Black Panther Party.

(5) Chapters should do anything else that will achieve the goal of generating political interest and activity around the Black Panther Party and the cases of Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver.



ARMY and Navy... there are some people out there looking out for them, helping in such. Beyond that, it has been very effective in engaging high-school students, especially in actions that help develop consciousness and unity against cops and the Army, and with residents.

But perhaps the most interesting possibilities in the sanctuary idea emerge if one imagines the scene after a college dorm—men's or women's—or even a whole school has offered sanctuary to an AWOL, to a drafted senior, or to a classmate who has been drafted after having been suspended in this spring's actions. At the present stage, sanctuary remains largely symbolic. Men are, and are expected to be, seized by Federal marshals. Resistance to the marshals has also been symbolic, non-violent, and taken except in a few instances, but transported from church to university, the sanctuary idea offers enormous possibilities for organizing real solidarity and resistance beyond anything so far contemplated.

Occasionally, universities much more even than churches are deemed independent of police power. At Harvard the Governor of Massachusetts is stopped at the gate in a commencement-time ceremony and must ask permission to be admitted. Will the Feds ask? Will the Administration comply? Will students deny? Time was, too, the Yale old campus was a sanctuary against which Guardsmen fired cannon to break defenses.)

In 1966 Vietnamese peasants would drive their cattle into village squares to mark themselves as a symbolic protest. We say at that stage with respect to sanctuary and the Black Panther. But the Ministry of Draft Resistance thus far suggests very clearly the directions things move in from having symbolic cover.

Case Turns at Texas Southern

by Susan Egan

In Houston, on July 10th, a three-judge Federal panel will begin to hear testimony on the case of Brother Floyd Nichols, one of five accused of the murder of a cop in the May 1968 insurrection at Texas Southern University.

Among other charges, members of the TSU Five are variously charged with "weapons procuring, leading to riot, murder, conspiracy to riot...." The murder charge arises from the Texas law which states that anyone who was a participant or a "conspirator" in an event may be held liable for any injuries or deaths which consequently occur. This means that by accusing the five brothers of conspiring to incite a riot at TSU, the authorities are automatically holding them responsible for the death of a white cop who was killed by his own ricocheting bullet on the campus.

We met with Floyd Nichols last week to talk about the new developments in the case and about how we could best relate to it. Although the other four brothers are being defended by the Texas state bar, Floyd is going separately into Federal Court July 10th to seek an injunction against State prosecution in a case in which he would ordinarily be tried by a jury in a State court. He is a plaintiff in these proceedings, charging that the State has violated his Constitutional rights and that the state's under which he is to be tried are themselves unconstitutional on their face. If successful, Nichols will never come to trial. This precedent, set in Louisiana in the late 1950s, means that it may be possible to prevent trial (with its

above can be given to our summer organizing programs nationally. Counter genocide demonstrations should be called locally around the country to coincide with important dates in the trials of the brothers.

(2) A fact sheet on the TSU case which can be adapted to local use in handbills and newspapers is being prepared in the National Office.

(3) As a stimulus to the building of Movement defense organizations in our local areas, educational meetings can be called around this case. Films like the Newtrel release "Weapons for Black Country" could be shown. The TSU case will be most useful to our own organizing if it is linked to local cases and issues. A local defense organization for the Movement must emphasize the local needs of its constituency.

The Escalation of Resistance

Paul Leader

Two years ago, no one was organizing Black resistance. People mainly talked about and acted out individual gestures of conscience: applying for CO and refusing induction. But in two years, what was the symbolic protest of individuals has become the increasingly political action of groups of men and women.

We can now see in two recent developments in the anti-Draft movement the early, and as yet symbolic, stages of new and economically significant forms of struggle. In Baltimore, the Reverend Philip Berrigan and three others poured blood on Draft files; then a few months later, Berrigan, Tom Lewis, and seven

others, including the Reverend Daniel Berrigan, burned large stacks of a Citizens' file. Maryland Draft Board's files with home-addresses, a few days later, Duke Williams and a friend walked into a Boston Board, poured black paint all over files full of names, and walked out again. Actions like this do to our identity what the summer brought to the press.

These actions have been dramatic and in small ways rather effective. They have stopped some Drafts from leaving altogether and started up the work related to the Boards. At the same time, they have been very costly: Berrigan and Lewis got six years for the blood-gilling abuse. But these first stages hardly looked they perhaps damaged, such high losses. They are intended as acts of symbolism and martyrdom. But, if the War continues, they perform organized and ever-increasing acts of sabotage. They show the way, open the masses. The pressure of events and Draft indifference will breakdown gestures like politics.



Platform of the Black Panther Party

- (1) We want Freedom; we want power to determine the destiny of our black communities.
- (2) We want full employment for our people.
- (3) We want housing fit for shelter of human beings.
- (4) We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
- (5) We want decent education for our black people in our communities that teaches us the true nature of this decadent, racist society and that teaches black people and our young black brothers and sisters their place in the society, for if they don't know their place in society and the world, they can't relate to anything else.
- (6) We want an end to the robbery by white racist businessmen of black people in their community.
- (7) We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people.
- (8) We want all black men held in city, county, state, and federal jails

similarity with the development of "sanctuary." On the day of it, asking for "sanctuary" in church from a state that had not been helped to hand and have churches with weapons, guns, and a gesture. But it has been primarily effective in at least three respects. In some of the best instances so far attempted—namely in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Providence—it has established a link connected with a church or meeting that far more active and immediate support. It has also been very attractive to AWOI, or disaffected

In New York, FSM leaders spoke and were hardly endorsed. But a proposal to hold a spring march on Washington to call for an end to the War was voted down. A serious argument occurred over this issue; many people were turned off of marches on Washington as a result of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. After a prolonged debate, the motion was reconsidered and the march proposal was approved. In other business the NC reviewed the activities of FEP (which had been pro-Johnson in the elections), and refused to approve any further support. FEP folded a few months later after failing to obtain a grant from the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

In general, the NC and ERAP staff meeting which followed were characterized by a new tone of harshness and quasi-factionalism. Many new people from all over the country were coming into SDS, and it was no longer a small group of intimate friends.

In February of 1965 the United States began the bombing of North Vietnam, and the focus of the New Left began to

had a dozen staff members and had acquired its first printing press. Looking out from Lower Manhattan toward America, the Spring NC ordered the NO Vietnam Convention to be held in the Midwest.

The June 1965 National Convention was held at Camp Maplehurst, Kefauver, Michigan. Four hundred SDSers attended this meeting, which was to prove a transition from the old to the new SDS. It was a new campus generation—from the plains of the Southwest as well as from the Ivy League, Beards and Pancho Villa mustaches replaced the clean-shaven look of early SDS. Folks turned on for the first time at an SDS convention. For the first time the members complained about the way their organization functioned. It was suggested that perhaps national officers were unnecessary. The role of the presidency was sharply downgraded, and the office of National Secretary was virtually eliminated.

Politically, the convention re-affirmed its commitment to the organization of

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...know what I mean?

CUBA TRIP

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DO IT NOW!!

Students there tend to leave for more exciting places like San Jose or Chile. The area is a very heterogeneous one, and it is difficult to understand what really goes on there; we're starting from scratch.

The region generally presents this problem of having to build from the ground up. There was virtually no educational work done last year, but power in the various chapters has correspondingly increased to other particularly eloquent and ingenious individuals.

It is in part a structural problem. We'd like to start some experimental procedures of building things. I think we may have some success in this, but it is something we have not yet really gotten into.

WHERE IS SDS AT?

In the June 23 issue of the Guardian, Jack A. Smith analyzes the significance of the SDS convention at Michigan State, discusses the Red, the Black, the Faction, the Southem reports on women as a developing force within SDS, Uniques, revealing reportage. This issue FREE with every new sub.

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ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО

overwhelmingly toward the issue of imperialism. At the December meeting, the organization had called for an action program on economic imperialism, and had chosen the Cuban-Mexican Bank as its first target. In March, SDS organized a large demonstration and sit-in in the New York Central district (also named people's party street) and issued a demand of "Marxism, ending the Cuban-Mexican Bank to South Africa. This was immediately called by the April march to Washington."

[illegible]

Each of these can be the focus for activities on both the regional and chapter levels.

The Draft

Despite the ability of the Johnson peace play and the reduced draft calls to increase people's hopes, there is no sign of a change in the War itself. Given the willingness of the NLF to continue their offensive while negotiating, and given the necessity for the US to keep up their defenses while completing their surrender, there is no sign that the Vietnam situation will cool off in the near future.

Because of this situation we should be able to use the Draft and the War in the following ways:

(1) Locally: Chapters can extend their current anti-draft activity on campus and in the community through extensive Draft counseling centered in a community apartment or a campus office. If these projects proceed well enough, the chapters will want to initiate an anti-draft union focused around some form of offensive, communal resistance.

(2) Regionally: Regional or city-wide anti-draft centers should be formed to co-ordinate the activities of the many existing anti-draft organizations. This is especially needed in large population centers where the areas of marginal anti-draft activity can be defined only by a central office which knows what is happening. This office will facilitate the formation of co-sending centers in neighborhoods that previously have none.

Radical Education

The Movement moves and our political environment changes, so it is natural that none of us has a comprehensive grasp of (or understanding of) our present circumstances. How we act in the fall depends on our evaluation of the political climate and of our own past and present projects. This kind of critical evaluation has been nearly non-existent in the Movement.

by the people involved, who best understand their own needs, or by the specific conditions of the region which demand special research.

The Black Revolution

It should be evident that this summer will be characterized by extreme violence in the nation's ghettos, culminating in generally authorized genocide. We should prepare now! To help our black brothers.

(1) Locally: The chapters should hold meetings structured along the lines of the Vietnam teach-ins. These could most effectively be held in the community (although the campus would do) for the purpose of raising money, educating the white middle class, and putting pressure on the community leaders.

(2) Regionally: In the metropolitan centers we should form emergency organizations which would probably only function when needed. This would involve raising bail money, mobilizing medical and legal aid, and providing housing, food, ammunition, and other needed supplies. These services could best be provided from campuses near the major ghettos. (Note: This sounds like a liberal service project, but it's not. The experience would be radicalizing for the middle-class professionals involved, and could lead to demands for complete police withdrawal and complete home-rule for the ghetto, as happened in Washington DC.)

Community Organizing

It's about time we did some serious work off campus. There are many areas of our society that would be more favorable to radical demands if we had more contact with the people.

(1) Locally: Chapters can set up projects around any of the three topics listed above—or around electoral politics, at others—in order to provide a wider exposure for our kind of politics. These projects can focus on low-income white neighborhoods, or on middle-class suburbs. Both targets are potentially valuable.

SAVING ATTITUDE AND MUST NECESSARILY break down when put into practice. There is no way to separate teach-ins from radical education, and the best kind of anti-draft work has to involve community organizing. The best summer program would be one in which all of the above are functioning without division. This would provide an organically coherent program at both the regional and local levels.

Implementation is obvious: If you don't get off your ass, there won't be a summer program. Each chapter that will have members during the summer should choose some areas to focus on in order to hold its members together, and should let other chapters in the area know of the project.

The regional projects outlined above also will lie dormant until there is some interval from the grass roots. It is easy to draft a blueprint—but if no one takes an interest in pulling together the projects, there will be no radical activity during the summer, and little to build on in the fall.

reached it. It is meaningless and dangerous to declare victory.

Traditionally we have had massive confrontations with the cops, but people learned a lot these past few days. Sometimes the most effective actions can't be publicized at mass meetings. Most of the time, going on means into a phalanx of cops is suicide. Probably our biggest tactical advantage has remained was our ability to break into small groups that could move where the cops could not. Each group was discretionary. Cops had just too much territory to cover.

Some will say that unless we declare victory people will be demoralized. We think there are lots of reasons to be elated—no need to manufacture a plastic victory. We are turned on by the early stages of this struggle. It's good to know that we have the guts to fight back. We have a sense of community and comradeship that we never had before. We have a better understanding of how authority, law, and order ultimately all rest on martial law.

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Berkeley / All the Rules Broken



COMING OR GOING, OFFICER ?

by Arlene Elson Bergman
the Movement

(Editor's note: Arlene Elson Bergman has been an activist in the Berkeley area for more than three years.)

Berkeley, California, July 4th (LMS SCHO)—Sunday night (June 30th) there was a man playing a guitar walking up University Avenue. He was singing "The Times, They Are A-Changin'". Behind him there was a throng of several hundred people. By the time they turned the corner nearly every window on the block was broken.

In twenty-four hours, other people were petitioning the City Council for a permit to have a mass meeting on Telegraph Avenue July 4th.

People have fought hard in the streets. All the rules of previous demonstrations have been broken. The cops used gas on a massive scale. We retaliated, for the first time, by stoning windows. They deployed guns against us in unmarked cars. We set barricades on fire, and someone even had the balls to set a cop on fire. They proclaimed a curfew and established martial law in Berkeley.

When we broke the rules of the demonstration game, we were asserting our right to control our own community. We were challenging the Establishment's definition of "law and order". We were taking what we knew is ours.

The demand for freedom of assembly was broken on afterward. Our struggle in the streets had nothing to do with petitioning our "city fathers" for permission to meet on our own turf. We have proven that merchants will pressure the City Council into letting us meet on Tully so that business can go on as usual. The problem is that we don't want business to go on as usual. Berkeley's gotta change.

When it all started we were expressing our solidarity with French students. Their goal—to overthrow an oppressive system—is our goal.

There is a possibility of making Berkeley a model for the United States. Berkeley is perhaps the only city in the country where radicals are the "fish in the water".

Our struggle is about people's control over a community. This means that the cops are disarmed and all non-Berkeley forces are withdrawn from the area. This means that the city of Berkeley abolishes its Draft board or appoints a Draft board that refuses to comply with the Selective Service System. This means that the Trustees' power over the University is delegated to a democratically-elected board of students, faculty members, and community people.

This means that the City Council meetings are open to the people. These issues are open to the people, and to the people's control. We cannot petition for community control. It is not a demand that can be brought to Mayor Johnson for approval. That would be as absurd as petitioning for his own ouster from office. We don't make trivial demands or petitions.

Summer Program Notes

Chris Robinson
New School 525

The two necessary functions of any summer program are (1) the strengthening of the chapters so that they will be better prepared for the opening of classes in the fall, and (2) the recognition of the political environment in which we find ourselves, with at least a modest attempt to deal with it. In accomplishing each of these there are four topics

(1) Locally: Given the need for increased knowledge and self-criticism, our chapters should become involved in internal education focused on the need of the chapter. This is an especially good project for the small chapter which will have problems maintaining membership over the summer and which usually spends the first two months of fall reconquering its losses.

(2) Regionally: Each metropolitan center should form Liberation Schools

(2) Regionally: On the larger level there are many kinds of projects that need a broader base to work from than that which a chapter provides. These would include work in or with any of the major labor unions, attempts to unionize non-union workers, and major propaganda efforts.

Conclusion and Implementation

The Marxist-Leninists (I do not use quotation marks since there are no other conditions) are the Group of Travail Communistes (Communist Labor Group) and the Union des Jeunes Communistes

May, and the latter, I am more inclined in the end to take the middle approach, recognizing that in certain instances a good relationship existed, while in others there was hostility.

reading the "Newspaper" on the radio. I heard that some Americans were buying up reams of papers which are already on sale in the U.S. Within a matter of days after things began to quiet down, the books were out.

Let I do not wish to understand the events of the past few months in France. A tremendous reserve of power is in the hands of French workers and students—and now they know it. For that there is no doubt.

Draft-Card Burners & the Dollar

Carlton S. Graves
Former Labor
Internally of Minnesota

"...the ultimate causes of all social changes are to be sought, not in the minds of men, but in the changes in the mode of production and exchange;...the growing realization that existing social institutions are irrational and unjust, that reason has become nonsense...is only a sign that changes have been taking place quietly in the methods of production and forms of exchange with which the social order, adapted to previous economic conditions, is no longer in accord....These means through which the abuses can be eliminated are not to be invented by the mind, but discovered by means of the mind in the existing material facts of production." (Frederick Engels, Anti-Dühring, Part 3, Section 2)

If what Herr Engels tells us has merit then we should be able to discover a relationship between current social unrest, manifested by anti-war demonstrations, crises that the military draft is "quitting", uneasiness in the intellectual community, of editors, and changes in the structure or emphasis of the economy. I think this can be demonstrated.

The majority urban capitalist industrial society that developed in America following the Civil War, collapsed in 1929. Along with it, world capitalism

1930s. Mussolini in fascist Italy and Hitler in Nazi Germany made their capitalist economies boom by spending for war. Pacific, isolationist America, disillusioned by World War I, limped along with one-third of the labor force on relief. Only when America began to spend for World War II in 1939 did the depression, unemployment, and the need for public relief end.

With the triumph of the Allies in 1945, spokesmen for American capitalism began to talk of "post-Americanism" and the "American Century". In plain talk, a system of world-wide capitalist imperialism dominated by Wall Street. The sole threat to the System at that time was the other victor in the War, the ally that had borne the chief brunt of German expansion, socialist Russia. So the American people, historically anti-imperialist, began to be indoctrinated with a rather paradoxical ideology of "anti-Russians" and "containing communism". Politically and economically this achieved two results: It sold the American public on world imperialism, inherited from the former European colonial powers, and it allowed Washington to continue to spend for war during peacetime.

Modern capitalism has not stood on its own two feet since 1929. Manually pricing uphens an excessive amount of labor's product into the pockets of the owners. This money must be re-invested in the economy (for capital goods or luxury spending) in order to become income for the consumer. In time of economic crisis it is not re-invested, so income falls off, demand falls off,

prospects for profitable investment diminish, and the economy inevitably falls into a depression.

It has been discovered that government deficit spending (most politically expedient, for war goods) can keep income, consumption, and re-investment up, and thus avert depression. The Keynesian multiplier begins to become for the war worker and soldier, which becomes income for the grocer, which becomes income for the cobbler, and so forth. Constant slow monetary inflation is a necessary result of the process, but this too is a stimulant for investment since depreciation of capital goods is less than the inflation. Thus the national debt rises.

The present-day American voter has been indoctrinated with anti-communist as an ideology for imperialism and capitalism. This is only natural, since the mass media are capitalist institutions themselves and wish to preserve this privileged system of economic organization, as do their supporting capitalists. Because the voter begins to cry "socialism" if money is voted for projects like urban renewal, lawbreakers are pressured to vote war appropriations to keep the economy going.

Enormous profits accrue each year to the handful of families at the top of the economic ladder. The managers of these funds must find opportunities to invest them the world over, outside of the socialist countries. If a communist revolution succeeds, such as the one in Russia, then that country is lost

would be more obvious than to take the war material and use it to crush a communist insurgency, as in Vietnam at present. Since World War II, socialist China and Cuba have been "near" to American capitalism by not following the path. Timely action in 1960 prevented the "Year" of the Domestian Republic, of course.

So we find that Engels' change in the mode of production is a post-World War II capitalist economy which is dependent upon war spending for its full functioning and which is threatened by a world imperialism threatened by communist revolutions.

Under the System, the average citizen suffers from monopoly pricing, inflation, taxation for war, threat of incarceration by nuclear rockets, and compulsory military service as "volunteers of the world". He is forced to police himself the investments of the people who exploit him economically at home. Hence the unrest.

But he also suffers, in the aftermath of imperial plunder and war-time full employment.

The United States today is a fascist democracy, and a fascist dictatorship (the latter is a derivative of the bourgeoisie). This fascist democracy is an ostensible political democracy, the economic superstructure of which is a system of monopoly capitalism made to function by spending for war (not or cold). Engels, of course, recommended public ownership of the means, all mills, factories, of course, and payment of the profits of these enterprises into the

July 20, 1968 New Left Notes

A Letter From Paris

By Eric Gordon Paris, June 25th, 1968
SDS

Let me say that I have not followed the French scene intimately for many years. I have spent only a week in Paris at this writing, and my contact has been with students. I could not explain all the nuances among the dozens of groups and factions—not to mention political parties—if I tried.

But I do know the inadequacy of the American press, and my impressions of one week here may be of at least some help. I do read and speak French, so my report is not based solely on visible evidence. Many readers will regard my judgments as erroneous. I do not feel defensive about them, but I stand by them until I have seen otherwise.

Let there be my question to that effect. I should say that at least among the students the Parti Communiste Français has no following at all. There are some posters demanding the vote at age eighteen sponsored by the youth branch, but since most students reject the bourgeois electoral process anyway, I do not know who is really influenced by such a demand. Opponents of the PCF do not universally use the term "revisionist". Mostly the PCF is rejected because it is too well ensconced within the framework of the present social and political system. Its leaders are too bourgeoisified; they do not fight militantly to achieve radical demands. Its bureaucracy is not distinguishable from that of any other party—Left, Right, or Center. Its call, "(Vote) Communist!", fits within the same category as "Drink Coca-Cola". Revealing of its true ideology at the present time is its derogatory use of the term

—Marxists-Leninists (Union of Communist Youth). The pro-Chinese Communists worked with other students in the occupation and defense of the Université de Paris and the Sorbonne, but did not as far as I can see exert a dominant influence. When I asked one about the problem of working with fundamental anarchists, he agreed that a serious problem indeed did exist in that respect, but that the problem of struggling against revisionism came foremost.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit has described himself as an anarchist. Whatever he is—although I suppose we should take his own word—he seems, by his own design or otherwise, no longer to be the leader of the student movement in France. Anti-anarchists, at least, seemed to want to impress me by affirming that there is no leader now.

His role in any case was debatable. Some enthusiastic students told me he had an excellent relationship with the factory workers he went out to see, and had discovered them to be as militant as the students. Other more cautious observers on the Left would say only that now the door has been opened to greater worker-student solidarity, but it could not honestly be said that any real victory had been scored yet.

More conservative sympathizers with the workers' demands felt that the students did not understand anything about the workers' complaints or what kind of militancy the workers were willing to adopt. In a number of places, they said, workers told students to beat it—they were not interested in following a rag-tag bunch of "filles de papa" ("Daddy's children") into a political unknown at the risk of job loss.

One program that may encourage a greater degree of exchange between students and workers is the proposed Summer University. Normally during summer vacation the students will keep the University open, offering their courses to anyone who wants to attend. Hopefully, workers will be among them. Another plan is for a long march through France this summer to develop revolutionary sentiment throughout the country. I did not ask toward whom this march would be directed, but it is a fact that so far hardly a moment's thought has been given to the peasant sector in France, which is rather strongly Gaullist.

I asked whether any students had decided against more schooling and opted to take factory jobs to do political work there. One person who was very enthusiastic about the good relations that had developed between students and workers said yes, there were a few, but really the workers were quite militant anyway, and more organizers were not necessary. A number of the pro-Chinese groups, however, seemed proud that many of his comrades were those who formed the Communist Labor Groups, and who edited a publication, *Servir le Peuple* (Serve the People), based on experiences at work. In my opinion, I frankly thought the first student was kidding himself—perhaps it was a defense against the indignation of my question.

Posters had a variable renaissance during the strike. No party failed to have its posters. But most of the announcements came from the anti-establishment (that means all parties) Left. Most carried clever

(I imagine there are a dozen new posters of Bobby in the States, too, right?) "The May Revolution in France", "May Questions", "The Walls Tell It", not to mention the latest re-publications of Che, Marxists (who seems popular), Lenin, et cetera.

It is true that a revolution has never taken place in a fully advanced industrial and technological society such as those in Twentieth Century Western Europe and the United States. Therefore it is hard to say of what kind such a revolution would make use. But I am sure that the "worker culture" which is so prevalent and so superficial among the Left and its sympathizers in the US has spread over to Europe in all its multiperfect two-dimensionalism. The revolutionary hour de force, it seems, was to invent a poster slogan color and cleverer than any other, and so the latter and decoration ascended. Now the venerable history in France, and I do not wish to denigrate it, but there seemed to be a resistance to getting down to where it's at, and that I found regrettable. I wonder also if it ever occurred to anyone that the very name Cuba-Band would mean nothing to Americans—and nothing, I think, to the French either—if it was not for the bourgeois press itself. It is hard to think our reliance upon our masters is so great!

"France will never be the same again," everyone says. That depends on what you mean by "different". I do not see any reason to think that the bourgeoisie's relationship of the French worker to his work will be any different in the foreseeable future. One of the problems

July 18, 1968

J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have been studying the reasons, the actions taken, and the future impact we can expect, if we continue to condone the SDS siege on Columbia University April 23 - 30th.

It is hard for me to believe that intelligent leaders and citizens, mayors, governors, college officials, and law enforcement officials can stand idly by and permit such a takeover to occur. Generally, the SDS is a minority group and will continue to be -- if we control their actions. But, if we permit any further demonstrations or organizing programs -- then, we can expect further repercussions.

Frankly, if my child were a member of any disorderly group, he or she would cease to be a college student. I would have condoned the legal action taken if my child had been a part of the Columbia siege, or the Ohio University siege. Let's be tough on such organizations! Let's disband them! Make it a federal offense to participate in these revolutionary groups! These men and women who go to our colleges and universities are supposed to be our future executives, businessmen, and leaders. Let's establish firmer guide lines now, to mold their futures, and the future of our Country.

If Federal legislation is necessary --- please don't wait! Your serious follow-up is requested. I would appreciate knowing your opinions and immediate actions.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

EXP-PROC.
37 AUG 2 1968

4 AUG 2 1968
CORRESPONDENCE

REC-34

100-1739048-751 August 6, 1968

[REDACTED]

b7C

C.D. B...

Dear [REDACTED]

b7C

I received your letter on August 2nd and appreciate your kindness in furnishing your comments to me.

In response to your remarks regarding the Students for a Democratic Society, I am enclosing some material reflecting my views concerning this organization. I trust you will find them of interest.

None

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

[REDACTED]

b7C

MAILED 27
AUG 6 - 1968
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (3)

An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism

LEB Intro 10/66

LEB Intro 2/67

NOTE: On basis of available information, correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

FMG:bsc (3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

8/19/68

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8589)
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-44963) (P)
SUBJECT: DEMCON
Re Buairtel, 8/9/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are thirteen copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) which sets forth information concerning Democratic National Convention (DNC).

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

4 - Bureau (Encls. 13) (RM)
1 - 100-439048) (SDS)
2 - Chicago
1 - 100-40603) (SDS)

ELS:pag
(6)

ENCLOSURE

53 AUG 26 1968

NOT RECORDED
100 AUG 20 1968

157-8589-462
ORIGINAL FILED IN

CG 100-44963

The Chicago office has instructed its informants to be alert for any information regarding the possible disappearance of the UMC by the SDS. Chicago is following this matter extremely closely and if any information is developed concerning this matter the Bureau and interested offices will be immediately advised.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
August 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-44963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS, AUGUST, 1968

[REDACTED] b7d
[REDACTED] was announced by Wayne Heimbach, member of the SDS National Office Staff, that the SDS contemplates to bring into Chicago, Illinois, SDS organizers for the Democratic National Convention. According to Heimbach, the SDS is of the opinion that a large contingent of "Young Mc Carthy supporters" will be in Chicago for the Democratic National Convention and after the first few days the convention is in session, they will realize that Senator Eugene McCarthy cannot win the Presidential nomination and therefore, will offer an excellent opportunity for possible recruitment into SDS membership.

According to source, Heimbach further stated that the Chicago Police Department will have the convention hall completely surrounded with policemen and will be looking for some reason or excuse for a "mass bust and arrest" of radicals at the convention, especially SDS members. As a result, the National office of the SDS is quite fearful that the Chicago Police Department will use any excuse to raid the National office of the SDS.

Classification returned

148.2 SJM/jaw
2-10-78

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
classification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS, AUGUST, 1968

Source further advised that Heimbach also stated that because of the aforementioned fears, the National office of the SDS is not at the present time contemplating to participate in any disruptive activities at the Democratic National Convention and that if any SDS members do participate in such activities, they are strictly on their own.

A canvass of SDS informants, who are familiar with source phases of SDS activities in the Chicago, Illinois area were contacted and these informants have advised that they have not received any information that the SDS has any plans for the disruption of the Democratic National Convention.

A characterization of SDS is attached hereto.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the, October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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MH [signature]

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FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT WEATHERMAN

FILE NO. 100-439048

SECTION NO. 36

SERIALS 2359 ONLY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHICAGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN CHICAGO	DATE 8/8/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 5/9 - 8/5/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C	TYPED BY [REDACTED]
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-SDS; SEDITION	

REFERENCE: Report of SA **[REDACTED] b7C** dated 5/8/68 at Chicago.

- P* -

LEADS

ALBANY, BOSTON, CINCINNATI, CLEVELAND, DALLAS, DETROIT, INDIANAPOLIS, LOS ANGELES, MILWAUKEE, MINNEAPOLIS, NEW YORK, OKLAHOMA CITY, OMAHA, PHILADELPHIA, SAN ANTONIO, SPRINGFIELD, SAN FRANCISCO, WASHINGTON FIELD-INFORMATION

Information copies are being furnished above offices inasmuch as either a SDS regional office is located in their division or there is considerable SDS activity. **[REDACTED] b7C**

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will follow and report activities of SDS nationally in 90 days.

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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BU 100-439048

CG 100-40903

104 Bureau

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439048-2359

6 AUG 13 1968

REC-1

EX-100

REC-68

EX-100

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

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Request Recd.		RAO (ISD, CRD, CD) IR3
Date of Recd.	DATE FORW:	5/20/68
	HOW FORW:	11/5
	BY:	

Notations

54 AUG 30 1968

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- 1 - ringfield (Info)(RM)
- 1 - hington Field (Info)(RM)
- 5 - icago (100-40903)

CG 1-40903

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report has been classified [REDACTED] because it contains information furnished by [REDACTED] b7d

[REDACTED] who are sources of continuing value and the identification of these sources could possibly have an adverse effect on the internal security of the U.S.

The Bureau in Bulet of 9/22/65 instructed that two additional copies of this report be submitted for distribution by the Bureau to the Internal Revenue Service and further instructed in Bureau R/S of 7/18/68 that a total of ten copies of instant report be submitted. In addition, the Bureau in Bulet of 4/26/66 instructed that one copy of this report be furnished to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Chicago.

Information copies of this report are being furnished to Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois; and NISO and OSI, Chicago, in view of their interest in SDS.

// are being considered for inclusion on the Security Index or are in the Security Index.

Individuals mentioned in this report concerning whom subversive characterizations are not included in Section V were checked through the indices of the Chicago Office. This check was negative or insufficient identifying data was available from which a subversive characterization could be constructed.

Special Agents observing JUDY BEREZIN participating in a demonstration on 10/14/65 at New York City were SAs [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] b7c

- B -

COVER PAGE

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

1- SO, Chicago (Via courier)
1- I, Chicago (Via courier)
1- Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston (Via courier)
Copy to: 1- S, Chicago (Via courier)

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: 8/ /68 *b7c*

Office: CHICAGO

Field Office File #: 100-40903

Bureau File #: 100-439048

Title: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY-SDS; SEDITION

Synopsis: Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) maintains its national offices in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, and also uses this address for the Radical Education Center (REC), the internal education arm of the SDS. SDS regional offices set forth. The Join Community Union which was operated by SDS as a community action organization now fully associated with the National Community Union (NCU) with offices at 4431 North Clifton Avenue, Chicago. NCU officers, aims and purposes set forth. SDS elected new national officers at SDS National Convention held 6/68 at East Lansing, Michigan, which are as follows: BERNARDINE DOHRN, Inter-Organizational Secretary; FRANK GORDON, Internal Education Secretary; and MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary. Other SDS national officers are TIM MC CARTHY, Assistant National Secretary; ALLAN SACKS, Literature Secretary; BOB SHOMER, Financial Secretary; and VERNON URBAN, RE Director. At aforementioned SDS National Convention, SDS elected new members to National Interim Committee (NIC) which are set forth. SDS presently clear of back debts, and other information re SDS finances set forth. Member of SDS National Office Staff stated during 5/68 that Internal Revenue Service (IRS) constantly harassing national SDS and IRS contemplating legal action against SDS to obtain payment of taxes. Resolutions discussed and debated at recently held SDS National Convention as set forth in "New Left Notes," official publication of SDS, set forth. SDS accepted invitation for SDS members to visit Cuba during 8/68. Other SDS activities set forth. Communist Party, USA and/or Socialist Workers Party interest in SDS set forth.

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classification

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DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Socialist Workers Party mentioned in this report has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The following organizations mentioned in this report have not been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 are characterized in the appendix section:

Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights (CCDBR)
Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Chicago Chapter (FPCC)
Fair Play for Cuba Committee
Modern Book Store (MBS)
National Lawyers Guild (NLG)
Progressive Labor Party (PLP)
Socialist Workers Party, Chicago Branch (SWPCB)
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA)
Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)
Young Socialist Alliance - Chicago (YSA-C)

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I. ORGANIZATIONAL DATA

A. Location - Offices

1. National

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED]

2. Regional

The "New Left Notes" ("NLN"), which is self-described in the masthead as being published weekly by the SDS, in the issue dated July 8, 1968, listed the following regional offices of the SDS:

New York City: 50 East 11th Street
New York City, New York

Niagara: 1504 East Genessee Street
Syracuse, New York

Southern California: Post Office Box 85396
Los Angeles, California

New England: 102 Columbia Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Washington, D.C.: 3 Thomas Circle Northwest
Washington, D.C.

Philadelphia: 262 South 38th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Texas-Oklahoma: Box 1941, Dallas, Texas

3. Local

Source advised that the local chapters of the SDS in the Chicago, Illinois, area do not maintain their own

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offices but that their activities are either coordinated out of the private residences of the respective SDS members or through the SDS national office.

[REDACTED] b1

Miscellaneous

a. Join Community Union, formerly known as Jobs Or Income Now (JOIN)

Source advised that the Join Community Union has ceased to exist as an independent organization and now is fully associated with the National Community Union (NCU). Source further advised that individuals who had been previously active in the Join Community Union are, for the most part, active in the NCU and continue to refer to themselves as being with JOIN.

[REDACTED] b1

b. National Community Union (NCU)

1. Headquarters

Source advised that the NCU, which was organized in the Chicago, Illinois, area by individuals working within the Join Community Union, presently maintains its office at 431 North Clifton Avenue, Chicago.

[REDACTED] b1

2. Aims and Purpose

The "Firing Line," which is published weekly by the Join Community Union, but due to financial reasons is only published periodically, issue of January 16, 1968, on page eight, column four, set forth the following aims and purposes of the NCU:

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"The National Community Union is the incorporated co-ordinating body under whose charter credentials will be issued to selected organizers for the purpose of establishing multi-issue operations in various cities.

"The goals of the newly established National Community Union are to create multi-issue programs with which people from the white working class can readily identify. It is our belief that until the radical movement creates such programs the goals of the movement as a whole cannot be realized."

3. Officers

The "Firing Line" issue of January 16, 1968, on page four, set forth the following NCU officers:

"The National Officers of this body are: Doug Youngblood, Chairman; Vernon Urban, National Secretary; Junebug Boykin, Educational Secretary; Carol Youngblood, Financial Secretary; Tom Mosher, Inter-Organizational Secretary.

"The duties of these officers are:

"Chairman: To represent the NCU as the national spokesman, traveling representative, and to co-ordinate the organizers who will be carrying out the NCU program.

"National Secretary: To co-ordinate the national office, act as traveling representative, and co-ordinate all correspondence.

"Educational Secretary: To be responsible for co-ordinating information and educational material, to gather such material, to act as editor of the NCU Newsletter, and to work on the training portion of our program.

"Financial Secretary: To keep books showing the financial state of the Organization, act as traveling representative, and be the sole issuer of money for organizing, printing, and traveling expenses.

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"Inter-organizational Secretary: To be responsible for maintaining communications with the other Movement organizations and act as traveling representative."

Source advised that in addition to the aforementioned NCU officers, PEGGY TERRY and MIKE JAMES are active as leaders with the NCU.

4. NCU Publication

Source made available a copy of a publication entitled: "The Firing Line," Volume 1, Number 14, issue of May 1968. On page two of this issue, in its masthead, it was stated that "The Firing Line" is published weekly by (The) Join Community Union, a non-profit organization affiliated with the National Community Union at 4431 North Clifton Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Its editor was listed as PEGGY TERRY.

5. Finances

Source made available a copy of a leaflet sent over the printed name of PEGGY TERRY, Editor, "The Firing Line" and JUNEBUG BOYKIN, Chairman. This leaflet read in part as follows:

"JOIN COMMUNITY UNION IS NOW FACED WITH ANSWERING THE OLD QUESTION OF, 'WHAT YOU GONNA DO WHEN THE WELL RUNS DRY?' BECAUSE THAT'S WHAT'S HAPPEN. WE'VE RUN OUT OF MONEY AND ARE IN GREAT NEED OF FUNDS TO PAY FOR LAY-OUT MATERIALS, POSTAGE, MAILING, AND THE COST OF PRINTING THE FIRING LINE. THIS LACK OF FUNDS HAS BEEN ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS THAT YOUR COPY OF THE FIRING LINE IS LATE.

"SO DEAR READERS THIS IS A PLEA FOR FINANCIAL HELP FROM YOU WHO HAVE HELPED US IN THE PAST. WE MAKE THIS PLEA ALSO BECAUSE OF THE ADDICTIVENATURE OF TRUTH AND WE DO NOT WANT YOU SUFFERING FROM THE DTS BECAUSE YOU AREN'T GETTING

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THE FIRING LINE SO FOR YOUR SAKE AS WELL AS OURS SEND
DONATIONS TO JOIN COMMUNITY UNION 4441 N. CLIFTON AVE.
CHICAGO 40 ILL.

"THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME,

EDITOR
CHAIRMAN

PEGGY TERRY
JUNEBUG BOYKIN"

c. Radical Education Center (REC)

The "NLN" issue of July 10, 1967, contained an
article captioned "The Next Day-NC-Internal Education." This
article read in part as follows with respect to the purpose
of REC: "The Radical Education Center (REC) will be the
internal education arm of the SDS. It will exist for the use
of chapters and teacher-organizers and will be responsible to
their needs."

Source advised that the SDS REC now maintains its
office at SDS National Headquarters, 1608 West Madison
Street, Chicago, having previously been located at 630 North
Racine, Chicago. Source stated that it was necessary for
the national SDS to move the REC to 1608 West Madison Street
because of financial troubles.

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The "NLN" issue of December 4, 1967, on page five, set forth information that ~~YERNON~~ URBAN was the REC Director.

B. SDS National Constitution

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

C. Aims and Objectives

[REDACTED]

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"SDS is a movement of young people who study and participate in daily struggles for social change. Committed to change in many spheres of society, SDS members, in chapters, projects, and as individuals:

- "(1). Organize the dispossessed in community movements for economic gains.
- "(2). Participate in activity for peace through protest, research, education and community organizations.
- "(3). Work for civil rights through direct action, publication and support of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).
- "(4). Inject controversy into a stagnant educational system.

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"(5). Support political insurgents in the fight for a government that will promote social justice."

D. Membership

"ARTICLE II: MEMBERSHIP

"Section 1. Membership is open to all who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social goal.

"Section 2. S.D.S. is an organization of and for democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any anti-democratic principle as a basis for governmental, social or political organization.

"Section 3. Dues. The amount and period of national dues shall be determined by the National Council.

"Section 4. Associates. Individuals who do not wish to join the S.D.S., but who share the major concerns of the organization, may become associates, with rights and responsibilities as defined by the national council."

The "NLN" Volume 2, number 25, in the issue dated June 6, 1967, contained an article captioned "Membership--Report." This article read in part as follows:

"The recorded membership of SDS stands at 6,371. In addition, there are 568 people who subscribe to 'NLN' but are not members. Of the 6,371 members, only 875 have paid dues since 1/1/67. The rest seem to think that the only thing they have to do is pay once and then forget it..."

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**R. National Officers and
Governing Bodies of SDS**

SDS National Officers

Source advised that the following individuals were elected as SDS National officers at the recently held SDS National Convention:

BERNARDINE DOHRN - Inter-organizational Secretary

FRED GORDON - Internal Education Secretary

MIKE KLONSKY - National Secretary

"ARTICLE VIII: NATIONAL OFFICERS AND STAFF

"Section 4. The National Secretary shall have primary responsibility for the functioning of the National Office. The National Secretary shall also have the primary responsibility for the implementation of national programs approved by the Convention or National Council.

"Section 5. The Inter-Organizational Secretary shall have primary responsibility for liaison with other organizations, both national and international, and for informing the membership about these groups. He/she shall not attend congresses, accept money, or establish formal relationships with organizations without the approval of the Convention, National Council, or in emergency, the NIC.

"Section 6. The Education Secretary shall have the primary responsibility for the functioning of the internal education program.

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"Section 7. The secretaries shall appoint assistants as necessary, subject to approval of the National Council."

2. Other National SDS
Officers and Personnel

The "NLN" issue of February 5, 1968, on page eight, set forth a list of names who are members of the National (SDS) Office Staff. This list read in part as follows:

Assistant National Secretary	- TIM MC CARTHY
Literature Secretary	- ALLAN SACKS
Spring Program Coordinator	- GREG CALVERT
Financial Secretary	- BOE SHOMER
Chapter Correspondent	- KAREN GELLEN

The "NLN" issue of January 29, 1968, on page two, contained an article captioned "National High School Contacts." The article read as follows:

"At the December (1967) NC, a high school resolution was passed, setting up high school regionals. Would people with any information on high schools please write the contact in your region.

West Coast - JIM FITE
510 1/2 N. Hoover
Los Angeles, California

BILL WATSON
1126 Delaware
Berkeley, California

East Coast - JUDY BEREZIN
New York Regional Office
535 East 86th Street
New York, New York

Midwest - BRUCE POHLMAN
SDS National Office
1608 West Madison
Chicago, Illinois"

Governing Bodies of the SDS

a. National Council (NC)

Source made available a copy of the SDS National Constitution, as amended at the 1967 SDS National Convention held in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This constitution read in part as follows:

"ARTICLE VI: NATIONAL COUNCIL

"Section 1. (a) The national council shall be composed of (1) representative from each chapter with from five to twenty-five members, and one additional representative for each additional twenty-five members or fraction thereof in that chapter; (2) the eleven national officers; (3) elected liaison representatives from associated groups (with consultative vote); (4) liaison representatives from fraternal organizations (with fraternal vote); and (5) national staff (without vote). In all cases, NC members and liaison representatives must be members of SDS. No more than three members from one chapter or associated group may serve concurrently as national officers.

"(b) Five or more members residing in an area where there is no organized chapter may meet together to elect a delegate to the national or regional council, provided that (1) a certification of the meeting and election, bearing the signatures of at least 5 members, be sent to the national or regional office prior to the NC or RC meeting, and (2) evidence is offered that all SDS members in the area concerned received prior notice of the meeting and election.

"Section 2. The national council shall be the major policy-making and program body of the organization. It shall determine policy in the form of resolutions on specific views within the broad orientation of the organization; determine the program priorities and action undertaken by the organization consonant with the orientation and mandates set by the Convention; charter chapters, associated groups and internal organizations; and be empowered to suspend chapters, with the right of appeal to the Convention. The NC shall be responsible for the drafting of a budget, administration of the budget, and organization of fund raising; appointment of committee chairmen and representatives

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to other organizations; overseeing the functioning of the administrative committee; drafting an annual report and making arrangements for the Convention.

"Section 3. The national council shall have the power to appoint standing committees to carry on its work between its meetings.

"Section 4. The national council shall meet at least four times a year. A quorum shall be 40% of the voting members of the election the national council has been notified. National officers may designate specific alternates. Chapter and liaison representatives may be represented by designated alternates from their groups."

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b. National Interim Committee (NIC)

Source advised that the following persons were elected to NIC membership at the recently held SDS National Convention:

CHIP MARSHALL
JEFF JONES
MIKE JAMES
ERIC MANN
MIKE SPIEGEL
MORGAN SPECTOR
CARL OGLESBY
BARTEE HAILE

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The "NLN" issue of June 24, 1968, Volume 3, Number 21, contained an article captioned, "Minutes of the New NIC." In this article, the following information was set forth as to where the new NIC members could be reached:

Mike Klonsky (National Secretary)
SDS National Office
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612
(312-666-3874)

Bernardine Dohrn . . . ~~PROX.~~
(Inter-organizational Secretary)
SDS National Office
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612
(312-666-3874)

Fred Gordon (Education Secretary)
SDS National Office
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612
(312-666-3874)

Carl Oglesby
1204 Xenia Avenue
Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387
(513-767-1313)

Mike James
SDS National Office
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612
(312-666-3874 or 312-642-0543)

Eric Mann
42 Grainerd Road
Boston, Massachusetts
(phone listed under Lucy Candib)

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Chip Marshall
308 Stewart Avenue
Ithaca, New York
(607-273-0535)

Jeff Jones
109 Norfolk Street
New York, New York 10002
(212-982-1935; July-August TO 6-1771)

Mike Spiegel
1779 Lanier Place Northwest
Washington, D.C.
(202-332-1387)

Morgan Spector
4164 17th Street
San Francisco, California
or The Movement
449 14th Street
San Francisco, California
(415-626-3046 or 415-626-4577)

Bartee Maile
Box 1941
Dallas, Texas 75221
(214-824-1837)

Source made available a copy of the SDS National Constitution, as amended at the 1967 SDS National Convention held in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This constitution reads in part as follows:

"ARTICLE VII: NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE

"The Secretaries shall have the power to call a meeting of a National Interim Committee, to be composed of all the national

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officers, on a regular basis and in emergencies. Decisions of the body shall be subject to national council approval."

c. National Administrative Committee (NAC)

The "NLN", Volume 3, Number 21, issue of June 24, 1968, on page 8, contained an article captioned, "Minutes of the New NIC." In this article, the following information was set forth with respect to the NAC membership:

"The NAC is presently composed of Bob Shomer, Alan Sachs, Jon Dunn, Clark Kissinger, and representatives of the chapters of Northwestern, Loyola, and Hank Williams (JOIN), with alternates Earl Silbar and Chicago Circle Campus rep. Since several of these people are gone or leaving sometime soon for the summer, it was decided to re-appoint the present NAC temporarily, until we know exactly who will be available."

F. SDS Publications

"New Left Notes"

The "NLN" issue of June 24, 1968, on page two in its masthead stated that "NLN" is published weekly by SDS, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, except July and August, when publication is bi-weekly. Its editor was listed as PATRICK STURGIS...

"CAW" Magazine

Source made available the May-June, 1968 issue of "CAW" Magazine. On page 2 of this magazine the following information was set forth: "This is the second issue of 'CAW', a national magazine of the SDS. 'CAW' will be published at least six times a year through the New York Regional Office of SDS. As long as it remains financially feasible, 'CAW' will be sent to all dues paying members of SDS without charge."

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Source made available the February (1968) issue of "CAW" Magazine. On page three of this magazine, the following information was set forth with respect to the staff of "CAW":

JERRY RADANES - Editor
EDWARD BOTTS - Associate Editor
ART BERGER - Associate Editor

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SDS National High School Newsletter

Source made available a copy of the "SDS National High School Newsletter" for the month of February, 1968. In this newsletter it was indicated that all articles should be submitted to JOBY SHINOFF, 510 1/2 North Hoover, Los Angeles, California.

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Source advised that at the SDS National Convention which was held during June, 1968, at East Lansing, Michigan, BOE HOMER, SDS Financial Secretary, gave a financial report and in this report the following information was furnished:

Total income for 1968 - \$115,814.90
Total expenses for 1968- \$114,642.52

With respect to the total SDS income for 1968, SHOMER reported that of this amount \$51,000 was received in contributions and \$19,059 was received from dues and subscriptions.

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The "NLN" issue of June 24, 1968, on page eight, contained an article captioned "Minutes of the New NIC." In this article it was stated MIKE SPIEGEL furnished a report regarding SDS' financial condition to the NIC meeting held during June, 1968, at East Lansing, Michigan, and this report read in part as follows:

"New Press: The new press is to be installed July 1st. The new folding machine is paid for. The \$12,500 for the press has all been paid except for a \$2,500 debt to John Rossen which will be repaid by printing jobs.

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"Fund-raising: The most money raised this year came from the Boston area. A total of \$50,000 was raised nationally. Two membership mailings went out, one at the beginning of the school year (\$2500) and one in May (\$3400).

"National Office: The National Office is completely clear of back debts. Spiegel stressed the problem of summer fund-raising, and said that we might be forced to go further into ads if finances don't pick up before August. Ads this year in New Republic and Ramparts brought back a five-to-one return of ad costs.

"Organizational Expenses: The National Office will not pay transportation costs for NIC members attending meetings."

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III. ACTIVITIES, PROGRAMS AND POLICIES OF SDS

A. General Activities

1. SDS Leaders

Source advised that the YSACB sponsored a "Militant Labor Forum" on April 5, 1968, in Chicago, Illinois, which featured CARL DAVIDSON. According to source, DAVIDSON spoke on his recent trip to Cuba.

DAVIDSON stated that he and several other SDS members had met privately with FIDEL CASTRO for about three hours during their visit. During their discussion with CASTRO, they discussed, among other things, the American anti-war movement and the Negro movement and riots. DAVIDSON stated that CASTRO advised him that he, CASTRO, was surprised by the growth and development of the anti-war movement among students and did not expect such a development to take place within the United States.

CASTRO further stated that he had reassessed and changed his position on the possibility of a socialist revolution within the United States. According to CASTRO, DAVIDSON added, he thought that such a development was impossible but now believes that a socialist revolution is now possible in the United States.

Source made available a copy of the "Bohemia" issue of April 12, 1968, a weekly news magazine published in Havana, Cuba.

On page 47 of the aforementioned news magazine, the following article was set forth:

"Black and White United

"Mike Speigel, leader of the organization 'Students for a Democratic Society' advised Radio Havana Cuba on the status of the racial struggle, speaking from Chicago:

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"Saturday, the 6th, during the evening; they brought tanks into the streets and there were big fire-fights here. Only two or three blocks from this office, large fires broke out. Our group organized a demonstration in which 300 persons took part. We marched toward the Headquarters of the National Guard, but the troops attacked us with tear gas. Fifty of our comrades were arrested.'

"Speigel emphasized:

"In several instances, the whites fought together with their black brothers, although the black majority were the ones who faced the agents of repression. For Tuesday, we are planning a huge demonstration, which we hope will take in 4 thousand persons, black and white, to again march toward the Headquarters of the National Guard.'

"The organization which Speigel leads, according to Speigel, united to the demands made by other American groups in order to carry out a general strike in the work and education centers on the 8th, in homage to the martyr King.

"Further, he concluded, 'We are taking the initiative so that the problem of racism and in racial genocide in the United States will be brought before the United Nations.'"

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Source advised that the University of Chicago SDS Chapter sponsored a teach-in entitled "Salvage America" at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, on May 10, 1968. Among the speakers at this teach-in were CLARK KISSINGER, former National SDS officer, and MIKE SPIEGEL, SDS National Secretary.

Source advised that KISSINGER in his speech stated that electoral politics do not have a decision making force in that political decisions are always made three or four months before elections.

KISSINGER added that the "New Left" should not support Senator EUGENE MC CARTHY for president in view of his past voting record in the U.S. Senate. KISSINGER cited example of MC CARTHY's voting record as the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, his vote on the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) appropriations and his vote against admitting Red China to the United Nations as firm reasons why he should not be supported. KISSINGER closed his speech by stating that "it's better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it."

According to source, SPIEGEL in his remarks recommended seizure of political and economic power to change the system. SPIEGEL further stated that the "New Left" should not give support to the present system as it only encourages further oppression.

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SDS National Organization

The following "Letter to the Editor" appeared in the April 25, 1968, issue of the "New Patriot," which is identified on its masthead as an independent newsweekly of the Peace Movement, published by the Glad Day Press, 308 Seward Avenue, Ithaca, New York.

This article read as follows:

Draft Suit Planned

Dear Friends,

"SDS is organizing now around a mass suit to be filed shortly in the Federal courts. The suit demands that those who have strong objection to this particular war in Vietnam be exempted from the draft. It is being filed by the Law Center in New York. Our goal is to have 30,000 sign as plaintiffs, and already work is going on to collect the names.

"We feel that the suit has several advantages. If we are able to get a significant number of signers, it will have the effect of a very strong demand to end the war. If we lose the case, as almost certainly we will, many of the signers will refuse and perhaps demonstrations can be constructed around it to further show the de-legitimacy of the government's draft and war policy.

"The suit also has the advantage that many will sign it who would not take the stronger stand of refusal--so it is a more broad-reaching tool. Signing the suit should in no way change or prejudice the signer's draft status. It may, however, provide him with a delay. If his induction comes up during the summer, a lawyer may very well (the chances are good) get him a delay of induction on the basis that the mass suit has not been ruled on in the federal courts. The possibility of delay is a further inducement to get men to sign as plaintiffs in the case.

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"We are also trying to integrate signers into summer projects on the draft and on racism in the white community. If possible, signers should be encouraged to contact the SDS office here and we will attempt to point them to an ongoing summer project.

"We will be happy to send a draft of the proposed brief and further information to any individual or organization interested in using this material. We are hoping for your cooperation and, especially, would ask that you keep us informed as to the kind of work you do or plan to do on the suit. Legal questions should probably be addressed to the Law Center for Constitutional Rights, 116 Market St., Newark, New Jersey 07102."

"The National Office
Students for a Democratic
Society
1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Illinois 60612"

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Source made available a copy of a form letter dated May 1, 1968, on the letterhead stationery of SDS, addressed to: "Brothers and Sisters of the Movement" and sent over the signature of Mike Spiegel, National Secretary. This letter reads in part as follows:

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"Finally, we face the Internal Revenue Service--Washington has made a serious move against us. The damage which the government can inflict upon the N.O. National Office is total destruction. Up until now we have not been able to give a realistic estimate of how much will be needed--our accountants now estimate how much will be needed--our accountants now estimate that the total damage will be approximately \$10,000. If we do not have the money when payment is demanded, they can close the office and confiscate any equipment as payment of taxes. If we do not have that money, the N.O. is finished, done, closed, over. These are the dimensions of the problem, and the solution rests with you. We need the help, there are no alternatives....

"We see the possibility of fulfilling the tremendous needs of an expanding movement. But the bill collectors and the IRS are hammering at our door and we are deep in debt. The N.O. staff has operated on half salary since December (\$15 per week--before we got \$20). The office is always willing to operate on the margin of financial stability as long as the work can continue. But checks cannot be written on hard work or good intentions--we need your financial support if we are to continue to move ahead. Please send us some money."

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The "NLN," issue of June 24, 1968, on page 4, contained an article captioned, "Minutes of the National Convention," which was held at Michigan State University, Lansing, Michigan, June 9-15, 1968. This article set forth the following resolutions which were discussed and debated at this convention:

'Structure: After extensive debate on all structure proposals they were defeated.

"Labor: After extensive debate, it was moved and passed that all labor resolutions be tabled and printed in New Left Notes.

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Regional Strength: It was moved and passed by unanimous consent that: 'It is the sense of this convention that the need for strong regional organization to determine its own political character be considered a top priority of this year's program; and this convention mandates all officers and NIC-NAC members to work toward this objective. Also we suggest that they make provisions for travelers to help co-ordinate and strengthen regional control.' (presented by the Niagara and New York Regions)

Iran: Passed, to be sent by telegram to the Iranian Student Association: 'SDS expresses its solidarity with your continuing fight against the dictatorship which oppresses your homeland. We recall that it was our own government which overthrew democratically-elected Premier Mossadagh in 1953, and which continues in various ways to support the Iranian dictatorship today. We recall as well that it was a year ago this week that a member of German SDS was murdered by German police while his organization was protesting the Shah's presence in Bonn. The fight for freedom is international because tyranny is international. Your fight against the Shah, the fight of German SDS against Kiesinger, of the French against deGaulle, of the Japanese against SATO--these are a few of the current fronts of a single war. We are your allies and brothers.'

Legal: Passed unanimously: 'We deplore the jailing of our brother Jeff Segal by the arbitrary action of the Chicago judge who revoked his bond pending appeal. This is a flagrant attempt to restrict and repress the work of movement people. Many more of our revolutionary brothers have been singled out, convicted, and jailed for their organizing activities by courts which are not "neutral", but rather are arms of the political state power. As the movement begins to threaten the ruling class, that elite reacts with repression. We refuse to be intimidated by our enemies, and will keep fighting until we have achieved the destruction of this capitalist, imperialist, racist system.'

Press Attendance: Moved and passed at the beginning of the plenary: rules concerning the actions of the press during the convention.

France and Germany: 'So it resolved that it is the sense of this convention of the Students for a Democratic Society to stand in solidarity with the students and workers of France and Germany in their revolutionary struggle against their capitalist oppressors.'

Source advised that on June 15, 1968, following the adjournment of the SDS National Convention, a press conference was held in which the old and new SDS National officers met with the press. During the course of this press conference, the following news release was made available to the press:

"The SDS national convention brought together about 500 delegates from local chapters all over the country. After 5 days of debate, there emerged a consensus on certain organizational directions. SDS, it was felt, should maintain a decentralized organization to prevent the development of any national manipulative bureaucracy; the national office should serve only a coordinating and educative role, and that far more initiative should come from regional centers which are closer and more responsive to the needs of individual chapters.

"Much of the discussion centered on ways of extending the movement to new constituencies--to uncommitted students and high school students, and to workers, hippies, and the American poor.

"The convention reaffirmed its strong opposition to the draft as an oppressive institution which exploits American workers and students for the purpose of exploiting and murdering people abroad, and voted unanimously to support the SDS national draft coordinator, Jeff Segal,

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who is presently in prison for draft refusal. SDS also affirmed its solidarity with the students at Columbia University who are now in jail for their protest against Columbia's counter-insurgency military research programs, and Columbia's role as one of the biggest slumlords in New York.

"New national officers were also elected. They are Mike Klonsky, National Secretary, Fred Gordon, Internal Education Secretary, and Bernardine Dohrn, Inter-organizational Secretary.

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"Mike Klonsky, 25 years old, is a 1967 graduate of San Fernando Valley State College. Fred Gordon, 24, graduated from Harvard University in 1966. He has been a graduate student in philosophy at the University of California, San Diego, for the past two years. Bernardine Dohrn, 26, graduated from the University of Chicago in 1963 and from the University of Chicago Law School in 1967."

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The "NLN," issue of June 24, 1968, on page 8, contained an article captioned, "Minutes of the New NIC," which was held at MSU, East Lansing, Michigan, on June 15, 1968.

This article set forth the following items which were discussed at this NIC meeting:

SPIEGEL STATE OF OFFICE REPORT:

"New Press: The new press is to be installed July 1st. The new folding machine is paid for. The \$12,500 for the press has all been paid except for a \$2,500 debt to John Rossen which will be repaid by printing jobs.

"Fund-raising: The most money raised this year came from the Boston area. A total of \$50,000 was raised nationally. Two membership mailings went out, one at the beginning of the school year (\$2500) and one in May (\$3400).

"National Office: The National Office is completely clear of back debts. Spiegel stressed the problem of summer fund-raising, and said that we might be forced to go further into ads if finances don't pick up before August. Ads this year in New Republic and Ramparts brought back a five-to-one return of ad costs.

"National Office staff: NIC members should attempt to recruit staff members for the National Office. A six-month commitment is being required by the Print Shop staff for anybody who wants to learn printing and camera work. The Print Shop is now operating with a skeleton staff of three men. New Left Notes editor Pat Sturgis plans to stay on; the paper comes out bi-weekly during June and July.

"Organizational Expenses: The National Office will not pay transportation costs for NIC members attending meetings.

"Communication Between NO and NIC: The NO will not accept collect phone calls from the NIC. The NIC members should raise money for the NO.

"INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL DISCUSSION:

"Cuba: We have received three separate invitations to visit Cuba this summer and fall:

"(1) Three to five 'national leaders' have been invited to participate in the July 26th celebration.

"(2) Forty to fifty SDS people have been invited for three weeks in August or September.

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"(3) One individual has been invited to spend three months on the staff of Radio Habana preparing propaganda materials for broadcast to the US.

"Japan: The fare will be paid for one SDS delegate or observer to attend the Young Men's Anti-war Association and Zengakuren conference July 20th through August 9th.

"Germany: Three SDS people have been invited to attend the German SDS ideological conference in Yugoslavia the first week in September.

"Canada: An international student conference is being planned by members of Columbia SDS for late summer in Montreal. Details are not yet clear.

"A long discussion was held on the role of these travels. On the whole the consensus was that European travel is to be stressed at this time. Everybody shouldn't go to Hanoi as we have been doing; the struggle in the advanced capitalist countries has been ignored by SDS. Oglesby suggests that rather than sending our people there, we should try to get Cohn-Bendit or Ali over here speaking to our people (rather than hearing second-hand what a European student leader told one of our people over there). He says that in response to the repression of the Left in France we should have had a sense of urgency and priority during the Convention about at least discussing some actions we could take nationally. The way in which people are selected to go on these trips was discussed, but no conclusion was reached except that Jeff Jones is to prepare an article for New Left Notes on the Cuba trips and ask all interested people to respond.

"BLACK PANTHERS

"Morgan Spector submitted a resolution on the repression of the Black Panthers which was passed unanimously.

CUBA TRIPS

"Since there was no business conducted at the National Council meeting, the resolution on Cuba was presented as business at the NIC meeting. The NIC took the following actions:

"(1) It accepted an invitation from the Cuban people to send three-to-five official representatives to the July 26th celebrations in Havana: Selections will be made at the July 19th NIC meeting. Contact the NO or someone from the NIC if you are interested in representing SDS.

"(2) It accepted an invitation from the Cuban people to co-operate on a second SDS trip, scheduled for sometime in August, and consisting of up to forty people.

"If you are interested in going on this trip you should send an application to the National Office immediately. Include in the application a description of your 'Movement History', that is, what type of work you have done, where, et cetera, and a comment on how you see the experience of going to Cuba relating to your work in the Movement. The final date for applications is July 5th."

"All decisions on attendance for the last trip were made by the NIC. This time, regional assemblies and local chapters will be given most of the responsibility for choosing. The NIC will decide proportionally how many choices different regions can make, and return all the applications from that area to the regional office. The NIC will make the rest of the choices, but will give primary emphasis to those chosen by chapters.

"In those places where there are regional structures, the following should happen. At the next meeting of the regional assembly, regional council, et cetera, a decision

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should be made as to how selections for the trip will be made and communicated to the NO. Remember that there will be only about three weeks from the time of the July NIC meeting until the time when the trip must begin.

"The last SDS trip took four weeks. Everyone flew from Chicago to Mexico City, took a plane to Cuba, and came home by freighter to Canada. Since it is summer, there is an even cheaper way to go. Arrange with some friends to drive to Mexico City. The cost of the trip will then be travel expenses by car to Mexico City, air fare to Havana (approximately \$50) and travel home from Montreal.

"When you send your application to the NO, you should make arrangements immediately to get your passport in order. It will be almost impossible to get State Department clearance for the trip. That means that return through Mexico will be impossible. No one from the previous trip has been hassled by the man in any way, except for some folks who came home through a small Maine border town and had their stuff taken away. There was a trip attempted by six people from San Francisco who were kidnapped by agents (probably INS-CIA) at the Mexican airport and returned to two towns in Texas. There will be a pre-trip meeting either in Chicago or somewhere in Texas."

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According to source, it was stated that the SDS desire to bring in SDS organizers from throughout the country, into Chicago for the Democratic Convention. It was added that a large contingent of "young MC CARTHY supporters" will be in Chicago during this convention and after several days, they will realize that Senator MC CARTHY cannot win the presidential nomination and as a result, will be completely disgusted. The SDS, therefore, it was stated, believes that these individuals will win an excellent opportunity to be "radicalized" and to be recruited as SDS members.

It was further agreed upon by those in attendance at the meeting that the pamphlet to be distributed to striking workers should include the following:

1. That the present capitalist - imperialist system in the United States offers no alternatives in the upcoming presidential elections.

a. Specifically: The Democratic, Republican and Third Party led by Governor GEORGE WALLACE are just machines of the present system.

2. Suggestions to all strikers that they continue their struggle against capitalism, although it was suggested that the word "capitalism", be omitted and a more euphemistic phrase be substituted.

3. The fact that Mayor RICHARD J. DALEY of Chicago has stated in the recent past that he would use City workers to complete preparations for the Democratic National Convention must be included in this pamphlet.

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Source made available a leaflet, entitled "Workers vs. Political Parties", which was sent out by the National Office of SDS. This leaflet reads as follows:

"During the past few years we have seen the prices of our food, our clothing, our housing, our transportation, and the education of our children go up. Wage raises cannot keep up with the rise in prices. Something must be done to stabilize the economy and stop inflation. But who will do it and how?

"Several incidents have shown that the bosses and politicians are willing to stabilize the economy to help themselves and at the same time to bust unions and to prevent workers from making a decent wage. In 1967 the copper companies used foreign copper to replace domestic copper that had been stopped by the strike in order to break the union. Johnson's wage guideline, an attempted wage freeze, tried to stop the union from getting gains for their members, thereby breaking the unions by making them ineffective. HERE in CHICAGO the CTA strike and the IBEW strike are both examples of the politicians, Daley, and the Democratic National Committee, attempting to force the unions to give up their demands rather than allow their own power to be threatened by the strikes. Daley even threatened to use the city workers as scabs against the IBEW. And in New York, Rockefeller threatened to use the National Guard against the Sanitation Workers' strike.

"This pattern of government and business attacking union and workers in general is taking place for a very obvious reason. THE ECONOMY IS IN A STATE OF CRISIS. The 10% surtax shows it, and the chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank is saying that the economy is in as bad a condition as it was in 1929. And, as the strike breaking attempts show, when the final decision is made it is made at the expense of the workers.

"During the 1930's workers learned that the only way that they could fight against the bosses was by organizing together into the unions. Workers are again realizing that they must join together to fight the strike breaking tactics of

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government and business, so they can take control and determine the total conditions of their working situation.

"But today in a world economic crisis it is more than just the American workers that the bosses and politicians are trying to have control over. Black people in the ghettos can't go on strike since they are largely unemployed (bosses need a labor pool to threaten white workers with) and so they fight the control the only way they can -- by 'rioting.'

"The U.S. bosses must control foreign economies and the people of the underdeveloped world if they are to protect their investments, and this control is being resisted --- like in the Dominican Republic and especially in Vietnam. If they could, these bosses would control American workers like they control foreign workers.

"We should see the political parties as being the parties of the bosses and NOT the workers. Government sees the necessity for a tax hike to help the economy but they tax the workers and not the bosses. We must remember that when they don't get what they want, they are willing to step on anyone who gets in their way -- black people in the ghetto, Vietnamese, or black and white workers in American industry. These groups must get together to TAKE CONTROL over their lives.

"Distributed by Chicago area SDS."

**B. Proposed SDS Programs and Policies
As Set Forth In Writings of SDS Leaders**

The "JUN", issue of May 20, 1968, on page 6, contained an article captioned: "Step Into The Sunshine", which was written by MIKE JAMES. This article reads in part as follows:

"How many of us know what we are, what the hell our lives are about, how we fit in to what's going on in the world. Do we have a sense of what we as a generation will end up being at age 35? Do we have a vision of what we could be?

"It's hard to predict the future of a generation, to have a sense of its essence; it's hard because we too often think in individual or personal terms - 'what I will be' or 'what I want' or 'what I will do'. We aren't taught to think about what we, as a generation, can do together. A sense of the future is particularly vague because we live in times when traditional institutions, the patterned ways we are taught to lead our lives, are no longer adequate. Instead they are crumbling, coming apart, filling too many of our heads with 'what will happen to me' anxieties rather than what the hell WE are going to do about it.

"Our situation is somewhat analogous to that of BONNIE and CLYDE. For them and millions of others, traditional roles and institutions lost their meaning. So BONNIE and CLYDE struck out - they searched, they looked, they say many among us change scenes - moving from one major course to another, from folk music to protest to electronic music, to macrobiotics, to drugs and meditation - always searching. BONNIE and CLYDE didn't build allies; they fought an individual battle, and they lost. We must not make the same mistake. We must stop seeking individual solutions to collective problems. We must understand that the source of the world's problems, and of our personal anxieties, is rooted in outmoded and rotten social, political, and economic institutions. We must look to the future not in terms of 'what will happen to me', but in terms of 'what are we going to build together.'"

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"The choice before us is either breaking out, tying together, and building to overthrow the ogre the guts of which we were born and bred in, or ending up working on the dreaded MAGGIE's Farm that DYLAN sings about: 'I ain't gonna work on MAGGIE's Farm no more/he asks you with a smile if you're having a good time/and fines you every time you slam the door/ I ain't gonna work on MAGGIE's Farm no more.' Well, too many of us are already working on MAGGIE's Farm, and we'd better be hip to that and start to do something about it. We're talking about our lives, not somebody else's.

"We had better start getting a picture of what the world is all about, that America is a very different trip than the fairy-tale images we grew up with. We had better understand what it meant for liberal ADLAI STEVENSON to stand in the UN and condemn apartheid in South Africa, while being a part of the corporate liberal establishment, whose largest single campaign contributor is CHARLES ENGELHARD, the largest investor in South Africa, a man who makes his millions off slave labor. We had better understand what it means when a man like ELLSWORTH BUNKER is on the board of directors in the Dominican Republic's largest sugar company and calls in US troops there to suppress a popular people's rebellion. We had better understand that MC CARTHY and KENNEDY - the MC KENNEDY thing - seek to co-opt take over, the humane concerns and potential revolutionary zeal of our generation with their modern-day renditions of 'ask not what your country.' They are not about liberating people, but rather about developing more subtle and efficient ways of controlling them. They may make the horror of Vietnam less visible, but they will be plotting more effective ways to stop the many future CHES, the beautiful revolutionaries who say no to America's corrupt version of freedom and democracy.

"We had better understand what it does to a people to be taught capitalism in the classroom, where kids compete, trying to out-answer each other, rather than to collectively come up with better answers. We had better understand that America builds brown-nosing into its people - and think about where that phrase comes from. We had better understand that the reason men and women tear each other up, is not because so many people are mis-matched, but because social, economic, and political institutions force us to tear each other up or accept submission.

"We must understand, too, that the reason black people don't talk to us is because we in the student and anti-war movements have built virtually nothing that black people in the street can relate to. So black people turn to the Third World to Africa, Asia, and Latin America. And we feel frustrated - 'what can I do?' And we feel unwanted, guilty, and talk about support for black radicals, but we do very little. We fail to understand that the best way to help black people and ourselves is to build a movement that can make a difference in our lifetime.

"And yet we reject the working class. We say: 'I can't make it as an organizer in a neighborhood' or 'I don't want to work in a factory.' We don't even think about acquiring a skill - whether as a teacher, doctor, lawyer, city planner, film-maker, etc. - and using that in a way that helps build a movement of the poor, working, and middle-class white people that can link up with the movements of blacks and chicanos.

"One reason we reject the working class is that the liberal mass media, and liberal social scientists and historians, have taught us that poor and working whites are characterized by 'authoritarianism'; that they are the racists, not us; that they are the enemy.

"Well, we can purge ourselves of a lot of our hang-ups, by forcing ourselves this summer to live and work in situations where we will meet new people - people we don't know yet, people and places that will force us to be more honest about our Movement work and our own lives. The big difference between us and working-class kids is that we go off to college and postpone our rewards, and they go off to the factory (even with a little junior college) and start making payments on new super stocks, plastic covered couches and gold-tinted lamps, all the things that the TV injects into our heads. We must get ourselves into the city; those of us who are already in the city must somehow get ourselves out of our apartments of poster-covered walls, and away from small clusters of like-people in Hyde Park, Old Town, and the beach. We will discover that young people out there listen to the same music; smoke; dope; don't like cops; and don't want to go into the army.

"How many of us were tricked by the first KENNEDY, with his salvation through service ethic that found a lot of us for while thinking the Peace Corps and VISTA were going to

change the world? Well, many of us bought it, and we didn't shuck it until we were around radicals who pointed out why individual personalities didn't solve the problem. The same is true for the MC KENNEDY thing. A lot of us are going to work on those campaigns because we think it's something to do. Well, radicals should get into those campaigns and work hard, not just bad-mouth them. Radicals should talk to people, help them understand that MC KENNEDY is not the answer, so that even if it takes two years, those kids who are working on those campaigns will understand why it wasn't the answer.

"What would happen if we got together the working-class kids we know in the City, who are in touch with the Movement, and developed a greaser newspaper with low-key politics, that talked about cars and motorcycles, and sex, and had lots of cartoons, and talked about cops, and interviewed some kid who went to Vietnam to protect his country, and came back knowing the thing was a hummer? That kind of newspaper, a greaser newspaper, could be used for kids who hang out at every Vienna Red Hot stand in this city. It's a way to spread the important word: 'Hey, man - dig this paper.'

"In the past we have entrusted our lives to other people. We have let GM, Ford, US Steel, Down, the CIA, KENNEDY, ROMNEY, JOHNSON, etc. run the world for us and they have messed up. We must believe that we can make a difference. We must understand that we can't escape what is going on in the world, what is going on all around us. We must get ourselves together now, plant some freedom seeds everywhere, and help them grow. If we don't we will end up a generation of people at 35 that could have made a difference, but didn't because we were afraid. A lady named Mr. HAMER, who lives in Ruleville, Mississippi, who still washes her dishes in the back yard, who stood in Atlantic City in 1964 and rejected JOHNSON's compromise on the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party saying 'We didn't come for no two seats 'cause all of us is tired' said some very important things on fear that we should all think about. She said: 'You can't go through life pretending that things are OK when they aren't. You can't spend the rest of your life being scared.' Remember that. And remember: IF WE'RE GONNA TALK ABOUT BUILDING A MOVEMENT, LET'S NOT FORGET THAT THE SUN SHINES ON YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WHO'VE GOT SENSE ENOUGH TO GET OUT AND STAND IN IT. Let's go."

The "NLN", issue of May 20, 1968, on page 2, contained an article captioned, "We Cannot Get Ourselves Down" which was written by MORGAN SPECTOR. This article reads as follows:

"Just about everybody in the Movement these days seems to be affected with a strange kind of malaise that has been as effective in reducing our numbers as the bubonic plague was in Rome in the Middle Ages. This strange disease of the head seems to be hyper-communicable, spreading from east to west by little more than mental telepathy. It spreads despite DUTSCHKE, despite Columbia, and despite BOBBY HUTTON.

"I am told, by those who are apparently in a position to know, that this malaise exists largely because nobody has any idea of where we are at or where we are going. That is probably true, on an abstract plane. My personal feeling is that we have caught up with ourselves at last, and have discovered that our rhetoric has advanced far beyond our capacity to deal with it effectively.

"For example, I read in New Left Notes recently that we are now an 'anti-imperialist movement'. Needless to say, this came as a bit of a shock, since we seem to be doing so little to stop imperialism. When I raised that point in a discussion with some friends, I was told that we are not yet in a position to stop imperialism, but that we must proceed with the heightening of our consciousnesses. Unfortunately, this usually raises a desire for heightened levels of activity which we are apparently not yet ready to deal with.

"The rhetoric that we use should, by any rational standards, reflect the perspective that we have. That perspective, however, should not arise from the works of Chairman MAO. Our perspective, in order to be realistic, must be based on honest, scientific appraisals of this country, of ourselves, and of our enemies. MAO may or may not be useful in such an appraisal, but there can be no substitute for us, as radicals, coming to that understanding on our own, using our history, and developing perspectives and goals that are attainable in the foreseeable future.

"We should accept one truth about ourselves. Many of us have a history of being agitators. Most of us, coming from campuses, have spent a good deal of our time laying the groundwork for increasingly militant demonstrations for civil rights or student power, or against the War in Vietnam.

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Until today, we have been relatively lucky, in that the System always engendered a new horror for us to get aroused about just around the time that the old horror was becoming passed. Had it not been for the War in Vietnam, we would probably have faced this same malaise in 1964, just after the passage of the Civil Rights Act.

"Ironically, then, we have always had a tacit reliance upon the system to keep us alive. As agitators, our work depended primarily on the development of crises. We did not have much of a perspective, largely because we did not really need one. (And don't wave the Port Huron Statement at me.)

"We were saved for a while by the Black Power movement, and by the emergence of the Third World as a revolutionary force, if for no other reason than that those movements gave us more to sink our teeth into. By allying ourselves on paper with those movements, we began to be able to develop a whole body of theory which defined us in their terms. We were now supporters of the NLF, dedicated anti-imperialists, and active allies (via militant street actions such as STDW) of the Internal Black Power movement.

"Many of our people hoped, somewhat manipulatively, that the situation of this country would deteriorate with increasing rapidity. We looked for the ghettos to blow, for more wars of national liberation to start, and for repression to start. We realized, although we never said as much, that the essential ingredient of our survival was conflict, there would be a reason for us to act, and room for us to act.

"The only problem was that America's elites started wising up. Instead of suggesting programs of vicious concentrated military actions in the ghettos, they came up with the Kerner Report. Instead of closing Haiphong Harbor, they came up with peace talks. In short, they dulled the conflict. They are proving, rather conclusively, that not only is survival the battle of the fittest, but they are for the time being, the fittest. JOHNSON gets smart while the New Left burns.

"This country has always operated on the thesis that one dollar is worth a thousand guns. Why shoot them when you can buy them off? While we have been watching the guns, they have been spreading butter all over the floor. That we're the ones doing all the slippin' an' slidin' should be obvious by now.

"After the initial shock of the MC KENNEDY campaign and the JOHNSON withdrawal had subsided, many of our people took a step back to kind of look the field over. We are still back there. Very few of us know what to look for. And the ones that do don't seem to have a hell of a lot that's useful to say about it all. We don't quite know what to say, therefore we don't quite know what to do. So we lie around and masturbate on the word 'malaise.'

"It would be much more helpful if we got realistic. Both about the country and about the Movement. I think that a good start would be for us to quit taking off on rhetorical flights of fancy, and come down to earth long enough to put some shit together.

"Look. Any one of us can sit down and write a properly Marxist polemic about this country, and all of the inherent contradictions of capitalism could be exposed in our writings and our speeches. For all of that, folks will still be on Welfare, black kids in Mississippi will still be starving, workers will still be forced to negotiate their dignity, and more youths will still go into the Army than will stay out. RAP BROWN and HUEY NEWTON will still be in prison. The War in Vietnam will still be going on in 1972.

"Nothing has changed except the Movement. We have advanced, but we have not brought the country along with us. I can't help but think that maybe we ought to regress just a tiny bit.

"What we need now is less agitation and more organization. I may sound trite saying that, but it is true. If it is not true, then how come so many chapter reps at the Lexington NC were complaining about the large proportion of

their membership that has gone to work for KENNEDY or MC CARTHY? The plain and simple fact is that a sizable number of 'Movement' people have nothing to do. Period. The tragedy now is that there is more to do than ever before.

"For openers, more of us should jump down off our pedestals and work with some 'backward' people where they are at. At Lexington, I read a great polemic against electoral politics. I voted against it. Why? In California, where I work, most of our people are working for Peace and Freedom. They are not entirely satisfied with it, but they see potential there for getting the uninvolved to work in the Movement. The alternative is MC KENNEDY or nothing, and nobody really likes to sit on his ass all day.

"Campus organizers should begin to work out realistic programs with their constituencies that can apply Left-wing politics to what are, at first glance, very mundane things. At Berkeley, the Administration named a new auditorium Zellerbach Hall. Without going through the entire history, the VOICE party there included in its program opposition to that name. The referendum later, the name is still the same, despite overwhelming opposition. This is a small issue compared to the IDA. Yet it has been the kind of issue that a lot of people are willing to talk about. Campus organizers should not shy away from developing very specific programs for students to get involved in, and they should always be flexible enough to gauge the rhetoric to the level of the audience.

"I don't have much to say about the non-student area. The JOIN people have said plenty about what it is all about to go into an undeveloped community and try to radicalize people. There is something to say about labor. Very simply, a dissatisfied worker is not a revolutionary. The guy who voted against JIMMY HOFFA two years ago may be working for MC CARTHY today. He cannot be written off as a sell-out. Those of us who are considering the labor-organizing route should understand that self-interest is a very compelling issue. Workers can be brought along, but we cannot go into a factory with a red star on our foreheads and expect much more than a fast ride out again. That brings me to my final point.

"We can no longer be elites. We don't really have any more (or any better) answers than anyone else. To the cat on the street, we probably have a lot less. Organizing means going to a constituency with some basic ideas and an open mind. We should be as prepared to burn our Little Louis Library as to refer to it.

"A movement means people in motion. It's that simple. And old farmhands understand that ain't no animal moves too fast when you're trying to pull him along. It's when you come up and setz him from behind that he gets going. It wouldn't hurt for us to have that in mind when we are out working in the fields."

The "NLN", issue of June 10, 1968, on page 6, contained an article captioned: "Inter-Organizational", which was written by CARL DAVIDSON. This article read as follows:

"Since the Columbia Rebellion, SDS has been thrust onto a new plateau as a national political force. The importance of that event in our history should not be underestimated. More than any other event in our recent political past, Columbia has successfully summed up and expressed the best aspects of our national political efforts in the last two years.

"However, there are reasons other than our immediate successes for viewing Columbia with the utmost seriousness. First, the action is a proto-type, a model for our campus organizing efforts for at least the next year. Even with little conscious effort on the part of our national organizers, dozens of student activists responded to the call 'Create two, three, many Columbias!' by initiating similar, though less dramatic, struggles on their own campuses.

"Also, Columbia has many implications and revelations about the weaknesses of SDS as a national political force. From that perspective, I will outline some of our inter-organizational and national political problems.

"It is crystal clear that students cannot make the Revolution alone. We need allies - radical allies-- in the heartland of America, primarily among the young, white, black, and Spanish-speaking working people. If the recent events in France indicate nothing else, they should demonstrate

the necessity of an alliance between workers and students. That concept should become a political 'given' within SDS. On the other hand, it is just as important that there be a great deal of diversity, debate, and experimentation as to how that strategy is carried out, the political relationship between the two constituencies, and the nature of the alliance. Toward that end, it is increasingly important for SDS organizers to reach out and make links with non-student insurgent constituencies. While we should not underplay our primary role as a mass radical student organization, engaging students in struggles around their own unfreedom, we must make every effort to integrate those battles with off-campus issues and constituencies.

"Another factor in the Columbia Revolt considered important by many organizers was its concurrence with the French and German student uprisings, supposedly giving many Columbia rebels the audacity and inspiration to go beyond what seemed possible. There is some truth to this, although it is difficult to evaluate its extent.

"Hopefully, the recent dramatic struggles of the European New Left students will change some of our isolationist attitudes.

"There are several important political arguments for extending and developing our relationships with these groups, as well as deepening a knowledgeable sense of radical internationalism within the ranks of SDS. To begin most simply, US Imperialism is an international system. Too often, American radicals plan for 'our' revolution as if the basic unit for our political and economic analysis were the territorial body of the United States. Rather than the nation, the limits of the American Empire should define and determine the strategic character of our struggle. The giant multinational corporations, along with a world-wide military force, make up the objective parameters of the system we are fighting against. All the oppressed peoples falling within its perimeter are our potential allies. The New Left in the United States should cease viewing themselves as an isolated minority, a lone voice in the wilderness. We are not alone in the world, by any means.

"In recent years, the major battles being fought within the Empire have been between the dominant advanced capitalist countries, mainly the United States, and the super-exploited colonies and neo-colonies of the Third World. The growing ascendancy of these movements for national liberation marks the beginning of the end for the Empire. However, they can only initiate, and not complete, the revolutionary process within the Empire. The final task remains for the working class within the heart of the advanced capitalist domain.

"What are the dynamics of that process? Previously, as long as the colonized peoples could mount no effective resistance to their super-exploitation, there was a portion of the super-profits available for the multi-national capitalists to bribe, in a variety of ways, certain strata of the advanced working class. Thus, the availability of a short-run material incentive enabled the Empire to divide, rule and expand. However, given the growing resistance of liberation movements in the subordinate sector of the Empire, the multi-national ruling class becomes engaged in protracted counter-revolutionary wars, Vietnam being the paradigm case. As a result of these exacerbated demands on the manpower and resources within the Empire's advanced sector, the ephemeral benefits of the 'bought-off' portion of the working class disappear, and their oppression intensifies. The second, but primary phase of the revolutionary process can then commence within the advanced capitalist sector of the Empire. Our struggles, however, isolated they may seem, are part of this single revolutionary process within a multi-national imperialism.

"But the implications of this situation make it most incumbent on us to examine other questions raised by struggles like Columbia or Detroit in this country and the French Revolt in Europe. Having the will and courage to fight by no means implies that a movement has the organization, knowledge, and values needed to win. Confronted with the deadly brutality of state power, the Columbia rebels recognized the need for off-campus allies in a yet-to-be organized radical insurgency of working people. In France, the students established that alliance and demonstrated to the entire world the revolutionary potential of its power. However, France pointed out another lesson - the need for revolutionary organization and leadership within mass insurgencies (given the treachery of a revisionist and trade-union leadership).

"While the achievements of such revolutionary movements as those of Cuba and Vietnam are of great value, their occurrence in the subordinate neo-colonial sector of the Empire places limits on the number of political lessons ~~we~~ can creatively apply to our situation. On the other hand, the current and historical struggles of the European radical movement can offer as much more, even if most of those lessons will be gleaned from their mistakes and set-backs.

"For instance, in most European countries, mass Left-wing parties with strong roots in trade unions are accepted by most people, with the ideology of anti-communism having little of the acceptance gained among most of the American public. What should be examined is the reformist and impotent position of those parties, from which we could learn what not to do in developing a mass radical politics.

"Moreover, from the Swedish and British New Leftists, we can learn from the apparent successes but actual failures of parliamentary Social Democracy operating within a capitalist economy. An understanding of the growing revolt against bourgeois welfare-state capitalism in Europe could serve as a counter to those who would otherwise advocate it here.

"There are more critical reasons for developing fraternal relations with European and Japanese New Left groups than political education or moral solidarity; namely, we have a solidarity based on struggle around a community of interests. Consider the US Military's occupation of Japan and Europe, their threatened intervention in West Germany against rebelling New Left students and workers, and our programs against military operations in Vietnam and the ghettos. A variety of programs joining American, Japanese, and European New Left students could be developed, co-ordinating international actions around Draft-resistance, desertion, or attacks on the CIA, NATO, and other military alliances.

"Significantly, the University of Nanterre was the initial attempt by the French ruling class to create an equivalent of the American 'multiversity' in the French educational system. The obsolete French system was grossly inadequate for meeting the needs of an expanding technological capitalism. The French student Left, UNEF, dominated by a revisionist Communist Party, had for years limited its demands to economic issues (a student wage) and increased enrollments of working-

class youth. Meanwhile, demands around the content and purpose of the schools (against the training of faithful corporate servants) were submerged. The New Left coalition (March 22nd Movement) finally erupted on the left of UNKF, seizing classrooms and struggling around demands based on an analysis of the university remarkably similar to our own.

"Of all the advanced capitalist countries, the New Left in West Germany (SDS) faces conditions most similar to our own: a dominant ideology of anti-communism, basic unity between supposedly opposing parties in parliament, a neo-Nazi upsurge similar to WALLACE, manipulative mass media, and an apathetic public submissive to authority. German SDS began much like us, as a breakaway from the Social Democrats. They organized around university reform and Vietnam, soon incurring the repression of the Government. One of their numbers was killed by the police while demonstrating against the Shah of Iran. The ensuing protests swelled the ranks of SDS, bringing on more Government and ruling-class opposition.

"A few years ago, the presence of some American New Left radicals in Berlin influenced the German radicals into adopting 'new' forms of opposition, quite familiar to us: sit-ins, mass rallies, and counter-institutions. However, their version of the 'free university' is an improvement on ours. The 'critical university' as it is called, exists as a counter-institution firmly planted within the existing university and in constant opposition to all of its aspects. Another more unique program of SDS is their campaign to 'expropriate Springer', a right-wing publishing empire, advocating its decentralization and control by autonomous and democratically-chosen committees of workers and students. Since the recent assassination attempt on RUDI DUTSCHKE, an SDS leader, there also has been the organizing of mass protests involving workers and students united in an 'extra-parliamentary opposition' protesting the 'Emergency Laws', their equivalent of our MC CARRAN and SMITH acts.

"In Japan, another advanced capitalist country subordinate to US interests, the major New Left coalition is the Zengakuren (All-Japanese Federation of Student Governments). They are older than most New Left groups, founded in 1945 but breaking away from the Communist Party in 1950 over its support of the occupying US Military as a

'liberating' force. Since then, ZENGAKUREN has engaged in continuous, direct-action struggles against all aspects of the US Military, and against imperialist wars in Korea, Egypt, Algeria, and Vietnam. They have also fought for democratic university reforms and many trade-union struggles. Again, many joint programs are possible in joining SDS with ZENGAKUREN in common actions against the US Military.

"In Quebec, the French-Canadian Union of Students (UGEQ) might be called a New Left group, although its structure and leadership remind one more of NASA than of a radical union of students. Although UGEQ takes Left positions (support for Cuba and the NLF and opposition to US Imperialism), they participate in the structure of the bourgeois government of Quebec, 'co-managing' educational affairs. Some common actions may be possible, perhaps around the Vietnam war.

"Among all the New Left groups in the advanced capitalist countries, certain things are clear. From a basic Marxist perspective, there is a common understanding of the need for a new strategy, for a new party to implement that strategy along with a new version of socialism, and for a New Left internationalism to unite workers and students in a common fight on all fronts within the Empire. Another point the student New Left groups have in common is their lack of a coherent and consistent ideology. Within and among the various groups, there is much diversity and flux in political thinking. Those who might object to forming fraternal relations with any or all of these groups because of some unclarity concerning their position on this or that subject might ask themselves how any of the other groups could determine the same sort of thing about SDS with any degree of certainty. I think not. At any rate, I would think, in considering fraternal ties and/or common programs, that our primary concern about any group would be its commitment to an honest radical practice, subject to on-going criticism and change, rather than its ability to take the proper positions and postures.

"Finally, there is one style of 'internationalism' that should be avoided at all cost. I am speaking of those sentiments in all of us which tend to express a romantic over-identification with 'hip' Third World heroes, while, all along, really expressing an intellectual elitist hatred of America, of one's own people. At the same time we seek to understand the broader limits of the American Empire, we need

to examine its inner core, to discover the other America in all the multiplicity of poor and working peoples, their cultures, their histories, and their struggles. Without going through that discovery and understanding and following through with criticism and self-criticism, we can never begin to effect the radical political work of changing people's lives. Rather than victory, we will face only failure, a failure born of not believing ourselves because we could not believe in them.

The "NLN", issue of June 10, 1968, on page 6, contained an article captioned: "Educational", which was written by BOB PARSON. This article reads as follows:

"As this is my last report as a national secretary I feel that it should concern political problems within SDS rather than technical details about how the office has functioned. SDS has changed considerably in the past year. The slogan 'From Protest to Resistance' has in fact had a strong impact on how we conceive of ourselves. The transition from being simply anti-Vietnam War to being anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist has greatly increased our understanding of the enemy and the levels of struggle necessary to defeat it.

"However, the organization does not move as a unit. Consciousness changes through struggle, and we have not all gone through the same struggles. Those whose experience is entirely local see things in a different way from those with a more national perspective. Those in the urban North have different experience from those in the rural Midwest. People involved for several years have developed in different ways from those involved a longer or shorter time.

"It is these differences in perspective which have given rise to one of the contradictions in SDS which I wish to address - the mass organization versus the cadre. SDS as a mass organization is characterized by being undisciplined, decentralized, and very loose in its ideology. This means that SDS's analysis has not developed rapidly, but that in practice on the local level that analysis is seldom presented in a detailed way. The reasons for this are obvious, given our history. SDS was built and is still being built to a large extent out of the rebellion of certain segments of

American youth against the ideology of Capitalism and against the authority which represents that ideology - that is, parents, schools, cops, the Draft, et al. The fact that that rebellion taken the form of rebellion against all authority, against discipline, and against ideology is one of the objective conditions which we have had to deal with. It is small wonder that SDS is like it is, given that this alienated youth was its primary constituency. The fact that consciousness within the organization has risen very quickly speaks well for us. SDS is in fact a viable organization.

"However, the last several years have seen the beginnings of the development of more disciplined cadre both locally and nationally. By this I don't want to imply that within SDS a single group of people are pulling together into a cadre. Rather what is happening is that within chapters all over the country, and to some extent nationally, people with common experiences and analyses are beginning to talk about 'collective decision-making' and a tighter analysis of America.

"At this point in our history I think it is common knowledge that our previous hang-ups about leadership are outdated. As we have gone beyond a simple rebellion against all leadership to a more refined understanding of the nature of the leadership we opposed, we have found that in fact SDS has always had leadership. We have also found out that there are groups of people both locally and nationally who are responsible for seeing that activity takes place, that the organization holds together, and that work goes on. If these people can be called in very loose terms a cadre, then I think it is a fact that all mass organizations have always embodied within them a cadre, and that is a good thing. These people self-consciously see themselves as organizers, and as such feel the need to be tied in with other organizers so that they can try to set priorities and determine strategy.

"This begins to bring up problems which are going to have to be faced by SDS both in its mass form and in its cadre form. How does a cadre function in a mass organization? How do we make the mass SDS democratic when it is so easy to fall into letting the cadre make the decisions because they are more disciplined and do the work? I want to

give me examples of what I mean. During the past year I've complained at every NC that the Office doesn't get enough feedback from the membership. Most often the people who give us the information we need are not typical members, but people who are in many ways responsible for seeing that local activity goes on. When decisions are to be made in the Office which we want to get a feeling from the chapters about, we call those people. The result has been that what started off as our response to being cut off by most of the chapter members has become a very informal but potentially powerful cadre in the SDS. This cadre is tied together not so much by common ideology as by a common ability to make things happen. This cadre is important to the organization because it has been responsible for some national decisions and because it is in close contact with the SDS base. It is potentially bad because there is no way for the organization as a whole to make it responsible. It is a problem when the organization must rely solely on the good will of these people not to misrepresent them. It is clear that both the membership and the members of such cadres must be very self-conscious about their activities if they don't want to become elitist. Potentially these cadres could solidify into factions and destroy us. They could also become separate organizations whose members owe their primary responsibility to them and not to SDS, in much the way that PLP-SDS, YSA-SDS, and CP-SDS members now operate.

"It is important for us to realize that SDS in itself is a viable organization and not a place to be recruited from. If that is to continue, then the cadre which is developing within SDS must be seen as legitimate. That doesn't mean that this cadre should have a free hand to do what it pleases in the name of SDS. It simply means that the people who are doing full-time organizing, who are responsible for seeing that SDS goes on, should be seen as a very important part of SDS. It is their job to expand the organization, to recruit new organizers, and to build viable regional structures which can better involve and better develop our constituencies. The work is vital to our growth. SDS has the potential of becoming a revolutionary organization with an independent politics geared to the needs of the American people. But to do that it must take itself seriously and adapt its structure to its internal development.

"The second example is local and is an example of how a cadre should not function. Within one of the chapters a committee was set up to put out a petition and fact sheets on imperialism and racism for the Ten Days. This committee became a self-conscious cadre, exercised internal discipline, and required certain ideological prerequisites for joining. They decided that those who did the work would make the decisions about content, direction, et cetera of the material produced.

"While in many ways this sounds reasonable, the effect was that the chapter split into two factions - the committee and those opposed to it. Basically the problem came from what I think is a misunderstanding of how a cadre should function within a mass organization. It should not attempt to take control of the organization or a part of it by means of the power it has in being disciplined. Rather it should function in such a way that it continues to raise people's consciousness by engaging them in struggle, discussion, and self-criticism. When the committee closed itself to non-committee-members, it ceased to function as an effective way of getting new people involved. The people in the committee ended up talking to each other and handing out leaflets when they could have had their members spread out in an effort to get many new people involved in struggles which would have made other people trust them. In short they lost their legitimacy as a cadre when they isolated themselves from their base and assumed that SDS could be something which it cannot be - a disciplined organization. A cadre within a mass organization must in the end either be responsible to it or lose its legitimacy within it.

"Locally the model set out by NEIL BUCKLEY in the May issue of The Movement seems to be the best way to deal with the problem. Basically he advocates a series of work-study groups which will allow the membership to reach out to new people while making each group small enough to allow new people to participate. (For more details, see The Movement, May 1968, 44 14th Street, San Francisco, California, \$2 per year.) This not only allows the chapter to become more effective, but makes the chapter leadership responsible to the membership. The debate about the function of leadership and cadre should be opened up on the local level. This understanding is essential both for the membership and for the cadre. Questions, not confronted when they present themselves usually reappear in a nastier form.

"Nationally the problem is not going to be quickly solved. This is because national cadre is as yet very loosely defined and spread out. There are steps which we can begin to take, however. There has been talk for a long time in SDS about making regional structures the key structures in the organization. It is necessary that that begin to happen more than ever now. National councils no longer represent the base. Most chapters are never represented. The rest are represented either by anyone who can come or by the disciplined members who feel a responsibility to attend. The last NC was strange if for no other reason than that there were four hundred and fifty people there.

"We need to begin to develop regional structures which are closely in touch with their bases so that national politics can be generated by and be responsible to local constituencies. However I think we should realize that regional structures are difficult to pull together, and will in fact be pulled together by people whose orientation is more natural than that of the majority of the membership. The people who do that work will have to do it full-time. For that reason they will probably not be students, but people who have come out of student backgrounds. Because of their work they should be more involved in national decision-making and therefore responsible to the national organization. Basically the problem is that we are faced with the necessity of making people responsible for the specific work of organizing regions. This group of people will be a national kind of cadre which makes decisions based on the needs of regional bases. This is of course going to be a difficult process. Giving chapters a regional perspective, organizing new campus chapters, building community support groups, developing financial resources, et cetera are not easy things to do and require someone full-time. Of course regional people will be doing a lot of it.

"If SDS is going to develop into a really viable organization it is going to have to come to grips with the cadre which is developing internally. The contradiction between mass organization and cadre will not be made to disappear by ignoring it. Rather it must be resolved in a way which will further the struggle."

The "NLN", issue of June 10, 1968, on page 5, contained an article captioned; "The Growing Development of a Class Politics", which was written by MIKE SPIEGEL. This article reads as follows:

"How does SDS expand its political analysis and thrust to confront the broadest realities of America? What is an anti-capitalist thrust, and how far have we come in developing one? These seem to be the crucial political questions at this time. The particular tensions of America are changing, and our job is to focus on those tensions and use them to build a mass movement for change.

"Our rhetoric has jumped from protest to resistance, and that has had a profound effect on our conception of ourselves. We have moved from a politics of alienation to one of anti-imperialism. However, that jump was made within the unique context of the Vietnam War and our need to address ourselves to that primary focus of tension in America. Anti-imperialism became our analytic thrust because it was an imperialist crisis which held our attention and that of the American people. Thus, it is now necessary to direct our analysis back into the society to confront the historical connection between imperialism and capitalism. In order to build a movement for change, we must address ourselves to the deeper capitalist values which result in imperialism - but which also dictate the direction of the social, political, and cultural institutions of the society here at home.

"We have used Vietnam as our main example of imperialist exploitation and its results. Our critique has centered on the exploitation of the developing countries and the black ghettos as internal colonies. But we (and our potential base) reside within the mainstream of the imperialist country. Thus, our anti-imperialist analysis is only as good as it is able to make clear to people their own oppression here in America. We must reach beyond the anti-imperialist position which only makes clearer the oppression of others to a critique of the values and their operational structures - which are oppressing our lives.

"If imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, by capitalist values, it is still not the only stage of capitalism which can exist at any given time. That is, there existed and still do exist manifestations of capitalism which pre-date the stage of full-fledged imperialism. All of capitalism's evils today are not encompassed within our anti-imperialist analysis, although presumably the values are. In order to reach into America with a viable critique, we must begin to strike at the evils of capitalism, for it is there, not through

imperialism, - that most people in America experience their oppression. Not just in economic terms - maybe least of all there - but in terms of how the values of capitalism dictate the operation of all institutions. MARX once said that history takes place in the superstructural phenomena of a society - and only rarely at the economic level. It is in the superstructure that we experience history. For us, that means that an anti-capitalist class analysis need not, and perhaps should not, focus on the economic levels of American life as the thrust of a critique. The values of capitalism strike home deeper in America in the social, cultural, and political life of this country - although their basis is undoubtedly economic. To be truly multi-issue is to understand the ways in which a class analysis and its implicit values apply to all of the phenomena of life in the society, not merely the economic ones.

"Our perception of ourselves within a class analysis, or of students as a whole within a class analysis, has presented us with some difficulty. We are faced with the definition which the ruling class has provided for us - we are supposed to be members of the elite in this society, being educated to take over the 'positions of leadership'. A consciousness which defines students as members of the elite is obviously destructive not only to the establishment of our own identity as radicals, but also to our ability to become a vehicle for the challenging of ruling-class values. We cannot see ourselves building a totally 'declassé' movement of people who stand outside of the classes of society as pure revolutionaries. One may be able to build a cadre who perceive themselves in that way, but not a mass movement. A mass movement must grow out of the experience and oppression of people's lives. An organization must see itself as being able to speak for a group of people out of a set of values, but to accept the false definition of the role of students in this society denies us the ability to build anything more than a small organization of guilty, alienated youth who see themselves as 'denying class privilege' (an unheard - of basis for building a mass movement).

"A class is defined by its relationship to the means of production; by whether or not it controls those means and has the power to direct their course. As students, it would be difficult to say that we are the oppressed - but our class situation is certainly not one of control

over the means of production (or of eventual control over them) - at least this is true for the vast majority of students. Thus, our interests lie with others who have the same relationship to the means of production (for most of them, their material condition is also much worse than students' - they are more clearly 'oppressed'). The values of a student struggle must be seen as part of a broader class struggle against the ruling class. (Even though the other elements of the struggle may not have emerged yet, the values must show implicit support of other potential struggles.)

"A correct understanding of our own consciousness in these terms makes it possible for us to not only 'fight our own battles', but also link up with other groups of oppressed people (in determining values, conscious strategy, and direction, if not in tactical or strategic coalition). If we are to direct our struggle against the oppression of all people, we must first be clear about our own relationship to the class structure of America. No organization ever succeeded in building a strong movement for social change out of guilt - by building the consciousness of a movement on the motivation that one is in fact a member of the class of the oppressors and must salve that guilt. If we are to go beyond the politics of alienation, we must be able to present students with an analysis which does not motivate them to prove out of guilt produced by false consciousness. In this respect, the widespread use of the concept of manpower channeling when working with Draft-resistance has been very important. There is some form of manpower channeling in all ordered societies. It can be democratic or autocratic. Manpower channeling is no replacement for a class analysis, but it can open the way for a legitimate class analysis by destroying the self-concept in middle-class students that they are members of the ruling class and that their interests are thus tied to that class. In fact, manpower channeling shows how students are manipulated like everyone else.

"But the question of 'self-interest', or our class interest, has always been a red herring dragged across our path. Somehow, we always felt that that was an necessary byword of motivating people to act. But we always remained ambivalent about what it meant - there was narrow and broad self-interest, and often the two were used interchangeably.

Self-interest became tied to security by the ruling class. Insecurity has always been one of the most important factors in forcing people in a capitalist system to produce, and thus achieve materialist gains. By constantly emphasizing insecurity, and providing material gains as a method of alleviating the problem (say, through advertising) the capitalist economy could maintain consumption at a high level. So, in the narrow definition, self-interest dictated to students that they finish school and thus be able to acquire more material possessions. For whites who could not achieve an adequate identity through the purchase of material goods, there was a racism which said: 'At least I am not black.' That has provided another method of reducing insecurity and establishing identity within capitalism - and thus racism was also useful to the ruling class as a 'self-interest' issue of their own.

"But somehow, by self-interest we wanted to address ourselves to values. We wanted to say: 'It is not in your self-interest to participate in authoritarian institutions, whether as dominated or as dominator, because they are essentially destructive of one's human potential and creativity.'

"Thus, we find that we must come back to addressing ourselves to the values of capitalism as they are expressed on all levels of social life, not just at the economic level which leads us to the dead-end of narrow self-interest.

"How our understanding manifests itself in our tactics and strategy for struggle with the enemy becomes very important. We came into the Movement when we thought that basic values of society stood for were being distorted. Upon closer examination, we concluded that in fact the values were not being distorted, but were merely displaying their logical extensions. We then began to challenge those values we had originally accepted (values which were defined by the ruling class with social alternatives and an anti-imperialist analysis. Many people in the 'anti-war movement' have never passed the point of their original alienation from the way their values were being handled tactically by the ruling class. Our job was to give them a deeper understanding of the nature of the crisis. For instance, our real ability to mobilize people in opposition to the Vietnam War did not begin with an anti-imperialist understanding of that war, but grew out of seeing values which they thought the System represented

being distorted. These were the values of 'a free-world democracy' of 'honesty' (anti-corruption), 'anti-totalitarianism', and even 'free enterprise'. It was only after people began to see that those values as previously defined by the ruling class were being corrupted that they were open to an analysis which strongly questioned the legitimacy of such concepts as a 'free world' dominated by the United States (a 'democracy').

"In the same way, our future ability to remain relevant to the tensions of the society, while putting forward an anti-capitalist analysis, will be our ability to re-define the illegitimate ruling-class values as they appear 'distorted'. Thus, an anti-capitalist struggle must begin to thrust at the values which are leading America toward fascism. (We used to say 'corporate liberal capitalism', but no one could ever distinguish between its logical extension and what could legitimately be called a form of sophisticated fascism.) How does that fascism begin to show itself? We see a growing militarism, racism, potential for genocide, and imperialist foreign policy - all of these being built upon an ever-richer society so that these trends can be viewed in the interests of all classes. However, we see contradictions arise. The military is requiring a Draft, something difficult to see as being in one's interest. The racism is producing insecurity in white America and the consequent further growth of the military for a potentially genocidal response. The wealth has produced as its mirror-image an international monetary crisis.

"Fascism as a historical outgrowth of capitalism requires a broad response, for it is more than a method of economic organization of a society, it is an entire social system. Like no other form of organization, its corrupt values reach into all institutions of the society. Thus, our response must be prepared to meet it on all levels with alternate values - not merely with an economic analysis. Because the tensions of these contradictions reach into all levels of the society very clearly, the issue of self-interest can be clearly seen as broad rather than narrow.

"Just as imperialism is the real enemy in Vietnam, not the distortion of basically good values and intentions, so here on the multitude of levels on which 'capitalism operates,

the growing repressive nature of the society is not a distortion of basically sound values, but is the extension of basically corrupt ones. However, people will begin to question America's course out of the understanding (or misunderstanding) they formerly held - and our job will be to develop the critique and strategy which can make the latter clear.

"Thus, as a growing capitalist understanding manifested itself in an anti-imperialist analysis because the Vietnam War was the primary tension in the society, so we must be able to develop an anti-fascist (or anti-corporate liberal capitalist) understanding to meet other tensions as they arise in America. Self-interest, then, must be defined in terms of all the institutions of the society and open itself up to all of the values which we present as alternatives. It cannot remain constricted within the ruling-class definition, which is an economic definition as a response to insecurity. For us, it may even be a bad term altogether, since the ethic of materialism is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of America.

"Tactically, this raises the question of how we see ourselves in relation to our potential base in this struggle. A problem exists which at its root is due to our inability to establish a radical identity in America (and thus an inability to define our own values and reject a ruling-class definition of ourselves). It is the self-righteousness of our radical stance. Our own lack of confidence in our politics has often caused us to maintain a self-righteousness attitude toward those who are not our enemy and in fact are our potential base and allies. We must be more open to understanding the stance from which people begin to question the course and values of the society. It will rarely be our stance to begin with, but the elements in a stance of dis-satisfaction are the potential seeds of class understanding. We must know ourselves and be confident of our relationship to the society and struggle; our job is to build a movement, not merely defend the one we've got.

"Finally, an example which illustrates both the good and the dangerous potential of this course: To build

a movement which operates outside the bounds of narrow self-interest, confronting the society at the social, cultural, political, and economic levels, is difficult. One always runs the risk of a politics of alienation, a politics which exists only at the superstructural level and is not responsive to the underlying relations, which are determined by class. Youth culture is in that way important as a place where America is now living out her history. However, it is absolutely necessary, while working within that context, to express the values which can truly define the enemy. This may allow a cultural phenomenon to be an ally in what is primarily a class struggle. Last night I saw the movie 'Wild in the Streets'. In it there are articulated, occasionally, a set of values which do reflect much of the healthy aspect of America's youth culture (freedom, anti-authoritarianism, self-determination) - but they are obviously not tied to a broader understanding of how those values are related to the deeper history and structure of the society.

"Just as GEORGE WALLACE addresses himself to many of the same dis-satisfactions in the society as we do (centralization, bureaucracy, race tension, the freedom of the middle man'), his response is dictated by an acceptance of the values of order and property rights over freedom and human rights in order to resolve the class tensions. In the same way, the values of youth culture can be easily distorted from their basic reflection of an alienation from ruling-class values to a conception that those values are the expression of youth rather than class.

"STOP THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND BRING THE ANALYSIS HOME NOW!"

The "NLN", issue of June 10, 1968, on page 3, contained an article captioned, "Report of the Assistant National Secretary for Offense" which was written by TIM CARTHY. This article reads as follows:

"You may have heard there exists in Chicago a hole in the wall on Madison Street - a place known by its initiates as 'THE NATIONAL OFFICE'. It is described by those who have visited it as being staffed by a strange race of people with blank faces and even blander minds who, due to the fact that the light and sound of reason cannot penetrate the darkness that exist on Madison Street, have lost all faculty to see and hear what goes on in the rest of the world, especially what goes on in that sector of the world known as

the Movement, and have therefore lost all contact with reality. It has been said that due to the darkness the written word is illegible, and all things like literature orders and membership requests are therefore thrown into the furnace unopened.

"Well, friend, I am about to relate to you the workings of this 'National Office'. I feel capable of this task only after spending eleven months in said 'office'. During this time I took copious notes on all that I observed there, and made a concerted effort to gain the confidence of the natives, so as to more fully understand the events that I observed.

"There are now fourteen members of the band or tribe which I will describe. An informal hierarchy exists, more in the minds of those who consider themselves at the top than really accepted by the band as a whole, for each member considers himself to be the most important functionary, and feels certain that the 'Office' could not function without him; but the three whose egomania runs strongest are the 'National Secretaries'. Next in line comes a creature called the 'Office Manager', a particularly odious being whose main function seems to be to run around the 'Office' and create confusion so as to slow down the work that is done by the rest of the band. There is an extension of the hole, or 'office', that is called the REC. This 'REC' has a 'Director' and an assistant, known more for her red hair than for her common sense. In another extension of the hole, there is a rather terrifying place quaintly named by the band as 'The Print Shop'. It is a place of terrifying noises and frightening movements. It is staffed by three creatures, two called 'Printers' and one called a 'Photographer'.

"The rest of the band is composed of a 'Chapter Correspondent', a 'Rayte Clerk', a 'Financial Secretary', a 'Literature Secretary', and an 'Editor'. A noticeable sentiment that exists throughout the band is that they have been very successful during the past year. In fact this sentiment is so strong that many visitors to the 'Office' have stated that they cannot understand its justification, as the band seems to spend most of its time patting itself on the back.

Your observer noticed this also, but was never able to decipher the meaning of this strange rite. But, as I have spent considerable time with the hand, I will try to relate to you the reasons that the hand feels successful. I will do this by trying to describe some of the 'accomplishments' as depicted by individuals of the tribe.

"The 'Rayte Clerk' says that he is only two weeks behind in his work. He takes a great deal of pride in what seems to me, an observer, a rather dubious accomplishment, but he justifies it by saying that no other Rayte Clerk has been so successful, and pleads as a mitigating circumstance that members of the outside world go through psychological changes in the spring of the year which cause in them a condition known as 'itchy feet', and thus start to wander all over the world. This causes him a great deal of work in keeping up with these people so that they might continue to receive that publication known as 'New Left Notes'. He says that he has dealt with over a thousand such cases in the last two weeks alone.

"The 'Chapter Correspondent', better known to her initiates as 'Miss Lovely', says that she has made copious files on the activities of the outside world. These files are concerned with strange groupings known to her as 'chapters'. She also has a file of addresses for people known as 'contacts' by everyone in the tribe, and they all seemed to take pride in the fact that they had regularly sent mailings to these people.

"The 'Financial Secretary' is a very strange creature who seems to embody a curious sort of schizophrenia. She is continuously complaining of over-work, but much of her work seems to be composed of efforts to bring in more 'money'. This 'money', she says, is the basis for her over-work. It seems that one cannot just receive 'money', but rather must make innumerable calculations as to how much of it one receives, why one received it, and what one did with it. This 'Financial Secretary' says that she has now, after several months of hard work, devised a method of accounting for this 'money' that is much superior to anything that came before it, and that now she can account for all 'money' she receives with strict accuracy. Also she says that she made great efforts in setting up systems that will give her a continuous flow of 'money' to account for.

"The 'Literature Secretary' says that he is 'caught up'. He says that it used to be the common practice that all literature secretaries were months behind in their 'orders', but that now he has processed all these 'orders' and is able to fill each day's 'orders' as they arrive.

"The three who inhabit 'The Print Shop' seem especially pleased with what they consider their 'accomplishments' during the year. They say that not only have they gotten their terrifying machines running, but they also have managed to run paper through these machines to print more than a hundred and fifty thousand pamphlets last year. They also say that they have gotten more machinery than ever before. They point to a new 'Folder', a 'Headliner', a 'Paper-cutter', and say that there is money to buy a new 'Press' and that it will be delivered within a month. They say that with this 'Press' they will be able to print even greater quantities of literature.

"The people in the REC say that their accomplishment lies in the area of propaganda and research. They say that in this year there have been sixteen newspapers written, and that the red-haired creature has made large files of newspaper clippings and other items of interest relating to the outside world. These clippings, they say, also lessen greatly the trash that has to be taken out of the 'Office', and are useful for this if nothing else.

"The 'Editor' contends that his is a most difficult job to fill, since the perfect editor, as he considers himself to be, must not only have a keen political mind and great artistic sense, but must also set the fashion styles for the rest of the bank. He points with pride to the larger size of issues this year, to their greatly improved artistic content, and to his new shoes; yet he is never satisfied and continues to use a portion of the newspaper to harangue the membership for falling down in their duties, such as sending in pictures.

"Lastly, comes that wretch the 'Office Manager'. He contends that all the accomplishments of the whole band rightly belong to him. His justification for this seems only

to be that he doesn't do anything else. This pretentious oaf takes credit not only for all the accomplishments listed previously in the journal, but also for such things as: twenty-five thousand copies of New Left Notes printed, addressed, and mailed; fifty thousand individual letters sent out; advertisements placed in various outside magazines which he says brought in much 'money'; and a hundred and fifty pounds of string that was used to tie literature orders and 'New Left Notes'. He says that this has all been done with a staff that has grown smaller and tighter since he's been in the 'Office'. One gets the feeling from talking to him that this reduction of staff is a good thing, and that it would be better if the staff were reduced even further, as he himself is really the only important person in the 'Office'. This, though, should probably be discounted, as each of the band has this feeling in a greater or lesser degree.

"As a summation of this report on my visit to the 'National Office', I would like to say that I hope that my efforts at enlightenment were somewhat successful in bringing a greater understanding of the creatures that inhabit the place. I would like to say that the accomplishments claimed by the band have been verified by myself. If you, the reader, still feel somewhat mystified by this concept known as the 'National Office', let me say that I understand your feelings; but I think that by systematic studies such as mine, the 'nature of the beast', as they say, will be more fully understood."

The "NLN" issue of June 24, 1968, on page 3, contained an article captioned "The State of SDS", which was written by M. KLONSKY. This article reads as follows:

"The National Convention at East Lansing should be seen as being symptomatic of many of the real ills which SDS and the student Left in general must correct if we are to survive the coming year. We are an organization which has always been good at talking tactics and style, but which has had problems in dealing with the essential questions in an analytical way.

"These questions which ultimately add up to our own survival can often be drawn from witnessing history, as with the struggles of the student Left in Western Europe. The lesson of France is that the struggle can be threatened by internal divisions as much as it can by Gaullist fascism

"Our internal contradictions can serve to make us strong or they can destroy us unless we develop methods of resolving them while they are still internal. The Convention is a case in point.

"At East Lansing, a battle was fought on many levels, few of them visible. Most of them were fought in a subtle sort of way, with the combatants never even confronting each other. The battlefield should have been and must be the many vital issues facing us at this period of history. The question of labor is probably in the forefront of these issues. We must develop a correct strategy for labor in America and the rest of the world of advanced capitalism. This can only be done through a process of analysis, confrontation, criticism, and more analysis. Throughout this whole process, the basic issue must not become clouded.

"This clouding of issues was a real problem at the Convention, and the battle became submerged in frustration and irony. The frustration came from the lack of clarity of thought on the floor of the Convention, with the overall result that nothing concrete was resolved. The irony came out of the intensity with which the battle raged. It was a personal fight in the sense that attacks were directed at people instead of ideas.

"It is clear that SDS must begin to relate to what has been termed 'new constituencies'. We lose thousands of people each year because they drop out of school or graduate from the student movement. They in effect become workers, and if they are to continue to function as radicals they must organize other workers. The European liberation struggle, as well as the Columbia University confrontation with the power structure, should clarify the need for the development of a labor strategy. We must begin to define and re-define capitalism through an analysis of the working class. This must include its many sectors and segments, and the changing relationships of working people to the means of production. We should take into account such factors as automation, consumption, the state of American labor unions, and the development of imperialism. However, the debate and analysis that go on must reach the people. That is to say that the theoretical must not lose touch with the practical.

Ideological development should emerge from the Movement itself. It should be encouraged and aided through programs of radical education on a local level. It should culminate in action.

"The debate on re-structuring SDS went on for five hours until all meaning was lost from the original resolutions. None of the re-structuring proposals was passed. The question of a labor program was tabled until the next NC (September). Between now and September we will attempt to define these issues and to make the debate around the issues relevant to local organizing. The next NC should produce programmatic changes and organizational growth. However, this can only take place if position papers are widely circulated prior to the NC. I don't believe that most people at the Convention had enough time to construct their own positions on the labor proposals, the Halliwell paper, or the re-structure proposals. New Left Notes will devote future issues to these questions, and serve as a forum for their debate.

"Another problem which we must resolve is the future of the student movement on the campus. While it was expected that the uprising at Columbia would be a central focus for discussion at the Convention, somehow that discussion never materialized. At its meeting following the Convention, however, the NIC agreed to analyze the causes and effects of the Columbia uprising in order to create more Columbias. Columbia was a classic example of student power being used the way we have often discussed in the past. Is there revolutionary potential in this kind of power? How must that potential develop? Our power potential rests with the student movement if we look at our failures and successes with an eye on the future.

"I mentioned earlier the importance of the European student movement. We have been placing greater emphasis on the struggle for Third World liberation than on the European scene. Many SDS people have visited Cuba, Hanoi, Cambodia, and Laos. There is much to be learned, however, from the way the French students relate to the French workers and the way they deal with repression. The Convention did not deal with the European situation even though many of our people had just returned from France and Germany. We could have discussed German SDS as well, in terms of re-structuring and repression. This was not done.

The "NLN" issue of June 24, 1968, on page 1, contained the following article written by PATRICK STURGIS, Editor of "NLN":

"National Convention of SDS: better than five hundred delegates and attenders in East Lansing, Michigan. Five hundred? What can five hundred or so do to a nation of two hundred million (setting aside, for a minute, the rest of the world)? What even to the perhaps two hundred thousand who identify with/as SDS by politics, style, perceived aim? Certainly they were not all there, but they must become SDS.

"To pull a definition, a characterization, even a program out of a seven-day mongrelization of in-fighting, out-fighting (with press, TV), shallow comprehension born of shallow education - and, too, some very hard, good politics (then to decide who it hit). That will take some doing. It will take as far past those seven days into months - and more - of work.

"To some it is encouraging that only a very few resolutions were passed, that the overall outcome of the Convention was loose, under-structured, and un definitive. That may be, in fact, the clearest, most fruitful characterization of the Convention - though perhaps also it is not a true one.

"From the straight press we hear a great deal about our 'foundations of anarchy'. And they would like very much to be able to describe SDS as a structureless, directionless aggregation of adolescent humanists. But that is not what we've built, it's not what that 'loose' convention was about. It was about ideology which must be formulated in trial-by-organizing, by referral on a far larger scale than plenary or even referendum voting.

"Recent impacts on SDS - at all its structural levels - of an infatuated press, a newly and maybe catastrophically shifting economy, a mother country under increasing disoriented stress and a constituency being pushed closer to the line, overpowered the capacity of on-the-spot, off-the-floor solutions. Too many deep political questions lay unopened, too much was left untouched at the core of programmatic debate. Too much never passed the stage of workshop caucusing.

"On the other hand, much of the lack of surface political debate and clarification may be accountable to the form where available. The five hundred delegates - not representatives - could not have been in a position to reach definite positions on many of the questions. Instead, there arise out of that week a few very serious questions to SDS at large. We must deal with the politics we could not clarify in five days of plenary - plus workshop/caucus time.

"In this issue of New Left Notes are the bones of the Convention. The minutes show that the plenary was extended well into National Council time, yet did not yield anything approaching the usual plethora of resolutions. The resolutions on restructuring which, one way or another, occupied the better part of Convention plenary, either have appeared (SEGA's) or will appear later with discussions. Because they were so extensively torn apart and their issues so factionally treated, reprinting can't suffice for explanation.

"The labor proposals, dealt with only at workshop and caucus level, were provisionally tabled - wherefor they are reprinted. Further exploration of their politics should come out of project reporting later in the summer, aside from some clear analyses by those involved with the proposals themselves."

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The "NLN", issue of July 8, 1968, on page 3, contained an article captioned: "A Message From Michael". This article read as follows:

"Below is the text of a statement made by Mike Klonsky to be broadcast over Radio Habana, as an Independence Day message.

"On July 4th, we in the United States celebrate the anniversary of our struggle for independence from the colonial power of the British empire. SDS along with many other young people throughout this country have come to understand that the American Revolution for independence, personal freedom, and self-determination has yet to be fought and won.

"Throughout this country, thousands of people are still fighting for those ideals of 1776. They are facing the full force and power of reaction. In Washington, thousands of poor people coming to demonstrate for more food and jobs were beaten savagely by the police, gassed, and put into prison. In the ghettos, black people, demanding self-determination and equality, have instead had their communities invaded by the National Guard and police. Hundreds have been killed in the streets of Harlem, Watts, Detroit, and Cleveland and on the campuses of many black universities.

"The student movement now faces the same type of repression. Hundreds of Columbia University students are facing long prison terms because they dared to struggle for an end to university complicity with the racist and destructive system of world imperialism. At this very moment, students at Berkeley are being attacked by police because they wish to demonstrate their support for their brothers in France, fighting against French fascism.

"We in SDS understand that the struggles for black liberation in America, for self-determination in Vietnam, and for socialism in Cuba are all part of one struggle, our struggle.

"On this 191st anniversary of national independence, we in SDS are asserting our own independence from the oppressive system of American imperialism. We will not serve in the Army to kill our brothers in Vietnam because our fight is here in America, toward the defeat of Capitalism and imperialism.

2

CG 100-40903

EL lav

"On the 4th of July, we will not celebrate the freedom which we do not yet have. July 26th has more meaning for many of us than does July 4th. Instead, we will recommit ourselves to the struggle for liberation, peace, and a new America.

The "NLN", issue of July 8, 1968, on page 4, contained an article captioned: "Education Secretary's Incoming Report: Us vs. Us." This article which was written by FRED GORDON, reads as follows:

"What is the role of the National Office? The role of the National Office is to be useful to the Movement. "Usefulness" has bounds. It does not mean that the NO formulates its own policy which it seeks to impose on the organization, and it does not mean that the NO has its own analysis of American society which it presents to the press as SDS's position. Usefulness means that first the NO is responsible for the mechanics of "Getting out the mail" and running an efficient office. But, beyond that, it has more complex functions. These can be described as (1) defining the issues, both theoretical and practical, which come up in Movement work and seeking to resolve these issues by soliciting debate and making sure that the debate is generally understood; and (2) presenting program possibilities to the Movement by getting people who are involved in Movement work to describe how such work can be done.

"Perhaps there are obstacles to the successful fulfillment of these functions that I have not run into yet - some strange noxious gas that rises from the ventilating system of the NO and paralyzes its functions; but so far it seems to me that these tasks are by no means impossible. The failure of the NO to define issues will lead to disasters - and the last National Convention was one such disaster. The Movement was unprepared by previous debate to resolve any of the issues before it, and the one debate that wasted the most of the Convention's time - over PL - was never framed in intelligible terms. Further, if the NO fails to provide the Movement with program, presenting to the national organization what is learned through the experience of individual chapters, then the same mistakes will be repeated again and again by every chapter that begins a new kind of work.

3
CG 10-40903
ELS:

"I realize that the NO has tried to get people who are doing work to describe to others how to set up similar projects; there is a real problem in getting people to write. All that I can promise is that this will be done as actively as possible. So far, getting people to write up their work in a form useful to the whole Movement does not seem an impossible task.

"I do not want to criticize the previous NO. I am fully aware right now of the obstacles that it faced. But I do know that many people, particularly in the most active chapters, have despaired of the NO, and so far as they are concerned it might as well not exist. This attitude is intolerable. The thrust of the Movement must be national

"The NO, it seems to me, has an enormously unrealized potential for servicing the Movement in crucial ways. This is not time for "having one's own thing" Use the NO!

I
"SOME ISSUES: P.L.,
CALVERT, & WHAT'S AT STAKE

"I do not pretend to have a finger on every conception of where the Movement should go. But it should be clear to everyone that if PL does not have the opportunity to argue the rationality of its position, SDS will repeat the catastrophe of the last NC. I have begun to pull together a debate between the positions of SDS and PL for New Left Notes. What we do not want is twenty or thirty articles that say almost the same thing. We do wish as many people as possible to respond. Some of these articles will be printed. But we demand that the issues be comprehensible to everyone who reads New Left Notes. To this end, we will seek to clarify and unify arguments and positions. This means that there will be an editorial policy for New Left Notes—not in the sense that we will seek to state issues as clearly as possible. The paper exists for the readers, and will print only what is useful to them.

4.
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ELS:lm

On the issue of the basic direction of the Movement, the debate with PL will also include discussion of Greg Calvert's recent series in the Guardian. Calvert represented, I think, it safe to say, an opposite position from PL on the issues of Labor, black revolution, and American imperialism. We are now soliciting discussion of Calvert's Guardian series-- parts of which will, hopefully, be printed in New Left Notes-- as well as discussion of PL's position. This series will be merely the beginning of national discussion of basic direction.

II.

PROGRAM

"There is very little SDS material which is valuable to people who are setting up new programs. SDS, for example, has put out no pamphlet on how to do Draft counseling, labor organizing, or farm organizing. This means that every chapter that begins a new project has to learn from its own mistakes alone.

"Programmatic pamphlets should explain (1) how to do things, (2) the kinds of problems that one runs up against in doing them, and (3) the place of a program described in the wider political context.

"I am now trying to solicit such pamphlets, and have promises for at least three, one on hospital organizing, one on community organizing, and one on Draft counseling. We are also seeking to become a clearing house for course critique material. In the end we wish to be able to supply people with sound objections to most courses in high schools and colleges in the social sciences.

"This is the beginning of an effort to put out good programmatic literature, and does not necessarily reflect Movement priorities. Write and tell us what kind of literature you need, and we will try to produce it.

III.

SUNDRY THINGS

"We are looking, of course, for good research on the power structure, imperialism, labor, and other radical issues.

5
CG 100-4003
ELS:lmv

"We are seeking translators of French, German, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Italian, and Spanish so that we can have some idea of what the New Left is doing abroad. Hopefully, we will be able to turn out small portions of foreign pieces so that no one will be greatly burdened. We are trying to compile a list of people who might be available for reviewing books. Write and tell us what field you are in, and we will send you notices of books for which you can volunteer.

IV.

It goes without saying that the NO should not lose touch with the needs of the Movement. Write us and tell us what your chapters need and what you are doing. The NO is neither elitist nor bureaucratic. Use us!

The "NLN", issue of July 8, 1968, on page 6, contained an article captioned: "NIC/Regional." This article, which was written by MORGAN SPECTOR, reads as follows:

Following is a brief regional report from Morgan Spector. He is working in California in a tentative San Francisco-Berkeley and environs region, with Nick Gruenberg, Todd Gitlin, Bill Watson, and Paula Dinnerstein. Similar and more extensive reports are being solicited from the rest of the NIC and other regional organizers.

The first fact about the region is that it is essentially divided into two different functional units-the Bay Area and the outback areas like Sacramento, Hayward and Fresno. Consequently, we have required two different operations here, one concentrating on the Bay Area and one working with the newly developed chapters in the "outback".

There is little to say about the outback chapters, largely because at this time there is nothing happening there, and it is difficult to say just what will survive the summer, as many of the students there tend to leave for more exciting places like San Jose or Chula Vista.

"As for the Bay Area, the active chapters are at Stanford, San Francisco State, and Berkeley. Most of the activities of the last year at all of these chapters focused on Draft resistance. The chapters operated as anti-Draft unions during the last summer, and grew out of the strength of these unions. Student activity at both Stanford and Berkeley focused on the War, and protest on the campus itself was held in response to repression of anti-war activities. The Peace and Freedom Party was involved in all of the activities there.

"SF State's activities moved away from the War after the October action. People there concentrated on the question of racism on the campus and tried to form alliances with the Black Student Union and the Third World Liberation Front. Most of these efforts had only minimal success, and it is difficult to assess at this time whether or not any really valuable educational work was done around the various issues that arose during the course of the year. I understand that the work got better as the year progressed, but I had little contact with that campus.

"We are currently experimenting with some kind of off-campus organizing in the Castro Valley area of San Francisco. Several of us will be working, and we will aim at starting some movement with young workers, drop-outs, et cetera. The area is a very heterogeneous one, and it is difficult to understand what really goes on there; we'll be starting from scratch.

"The region generally presents this problem of having to build from the ground up. There was virtually no educational work done last year, and power in the various chapters has consequently accrued to a few particularly eloquent and eloquacious individuals.

"It is in part a structural problem. We'd like to start some experimentation in breaking out of the strict committee procedure of handling things. I think we may have some success in this, but it is something we have not yet really gotten into.

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ELS:s

1.

IV. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND/OR
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
INTEREST IN THE SDS

A. Communist Party, USA (CPUSA)

Source made available a memorandum entitled "Memorandum to Youth Activists - Re: SDS National Council Meeting," which was sent over the printed name of HINE ZAGAR. This memorandum reads as follows:

Students for a Democratic Society will hold their National Council meeting March 30 & 31 in Lexington, Kentucky.

Our estimate is that this conference will be of major importance in SDS's ideological development. It is clear that many important ideological questions will be up for resolution.

Our full participation in these discussions is essential. We should attend this conference prepared to effectively represent our positions on a) the fight against racism; b) the student strike; c) building draft resistance, giving special consideration to the new impact of the announced plan to draft graduate students. Sharp differences can be expected at this conference on all these vital questions.

All of our people working in this field are urged to attend. We are also urging full mobilization of all SDS people with whom we have contact. We have been informed that the Du Bois National Office will have an official representative at this meeting.

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ELS:sp
2.

For further specific information on this NC,
contact the SDS National Office: 1608 West
Madison, Chicago, Illinois.

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

CG 100 40903

ELS:sp

3.

Source advised that at a membership meeting of the SWP-CP which was held in Chicago on May 14, 1968, a report was given on the teach-in held at the University of Chicago on May 11, 1968.

According to source, it was stated that the SDS leaders, who organized the teach-in, are hostile to the SWP election campaign presently being conducted and that the SDS leaders refused to allow the YSA or the SWP to have a speaker on the program.

[REDACTED] b1

**V. BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING
INDIVIDUALS PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED
IN THIS REPORT**

JUDY BEREZIN

[REDACTED] b1

On October 14, 1965, Special Agents of the FBI observed a demonstration in front of the New York State Selective Service Headquarters, 205 East 42nd Street, New York City, sponsored by the DCA and other organizations against the war in Vietnam. JUDY BEREZIN was among those observed in the picket line.

NEIL BUCKLEY

Source advised that at a meeting of the Purdue University, SDS Chapter, held May 2, 1967, NEIL BUCKLEY was present and spoke to the group informally. BUCKLEY's philosophy, according to the source, is admittedly and obviously Marxist and his message was that corporate American society is manipulative.

[REDACTED] b1

GREGG CALVERT

[REDACTED]

At this meeting CALVERT stated that he could not endorse the proposed DCA National Action in Washington, D.C., for August 27-28, 1966,

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which could include a march on the White House or some other office for his organization, but he would encourage the local Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP) to support it and that he would personally work in SDS in support of the Action.

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

Source advised that prior to the SDS National Convention held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25-30, 1967, GREG ALVERT was the National Secretary of SDS.

[REDACTED] b1

CARL DAVIDSON

ILL.

Source advised that prior to the SDS National Convention held at Ann Arbor June 25-30, 1967, CARL DAVIDSON was the National Vice President of the SDS.

[REDACTED] b1

Source advised that prior to the SDS National Convention held during June, 1968 CARL DAVIDSON was the SDS Inter-organizational Secretary.

[REDACTED] b1

BERNARDINE DOHRN

The "National Lawyers Guild Newsletter," (NLG) Volume 13, Number 4, a self-described bi-monthly publication of NLG contained an article of BERNARDINE DOHRN, the NLG student organizer.

[REDACTED] b1

TODD GITLIN

Source advised TODD GITLIN was in attendance and a speaker at the SDS National Council meeting held during September, 1965 in Bloomington, Indiana. At this affair GITLIN conducted a meeting and it was agreed at the outset that the major issue would be on the draft. The program should be a long-term one. GITLIN stated what the SDS would try to do is to meet the draft head-on and fight it even though it means going to jail. GITLIN said that it is not enough for SDS to think of ways just to dodge the draft. He said that SDS is trying to disrupt the war effort in that any anti-draft stand is basic to the stand against the war. GITLIN further advised that a "no draft" means no war power to fight the war. He also advised that the draft is undemocratic in nature and is like war itself. It exists only to make money for the war merchants and that the draft movement should be related to civil rights with all of the campuses attacking the draft. GITLIN further stated that college chapters should question the legitimacy of forced ROTC programs where they exist and that SDS should set up protest booths near military recruitment booths on college campuses.

[REDACTED] b1

BARTHE HAILE

[REDACTED] that BARTHE HAILE was a SDS leader at Southern Methodist University (SMU), Dallas, Texas, and was also the Southwest Regional Organizer for SDS.

[REDACTED] b1

JOE HORTON

The "Florida Alligator," daily campus newspaper, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, in its issue dated February 20, 1968, carried on page one, an article which stated that 20 members of the SDS from throughout the United States, which included JOE HORTON, Chicago Region of SDS, were in Cuba as guests of the Cuban Government. This article further stated that this group was in Cuba "to talk to representatives of North Korea and the National Liberation Front (NLF) of North Vietnam," and "to spend some time in Cuba working in Cuban fields." TLC

MIKE JAMES

Source advised that on March 25, 1967, a peace march and rally was held in Chicago which was sponsored by various peace and civil rights organizations. During the demonstration, MIKE JAMES, who was introduced as a SDS leader, spoke and urged that draft eligible youths defy the draft and called for continued protests and sit-in demonstrations on every campus protesting the Vietnam war. JAMES added that the poor must be organized in opposition to the military-industrial complex.

[REDACTED] b1

JEFF JONES

Source advised that as [REDACTED] JEFF JONES was the office manager of the New York Region SDS.

[REDACTED] b1

CLARK KISSINGER

Source advised that CLARK KISSINGER, National Secretary of SDS, in addressing the SDS National Conference on June 13, 1965, presented a program called "Kissinger's Project" or "Kissinger's Kamikaze."

In presenting this program, KISSINGER proposed that SDS members deliberately violate the Espionage Act of 1917, certain provisions of the Smith Act of 1940, and specific sections of the Code of Military Justice, by entering United States military bases and passing out leaflets which would demoralize men in the Armed Forces and which would suggest that the members of the Armed Forces should desert and further adopt devious means of avoiding service and direct participation in the Vietnam war.

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

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MIKE KLONSKY

Source advised that as [REDACTED] MIKE KLONSKY was of the Regional Staff of the SDS in Los Angeles, California.

Source further advised that MIKE KLONSKY is the son of ROBERT KLONSKY.

[REDACTED] b1

The October 19, 1967, edition of the "North Valley Mail," a weekly publication in Granada Hills, California, contains an article which reflects that ROBERT KLONSKY was arrested in 1953 by the FBI and charged with advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. KLONSKY was convicted of this charge but his conviction was later reversed by the Supreme Court. KLONSKY was the former Organizational Secretary of the Communist Party in Eastern Pennsylvania.

CARL OGLESBY

Source describe CARL OGLESBY as a "modern day Saul," completely and personally committed to the SDS program, enthusiastic in his work and the promotion of same. OGLESBY acknowledges that he was surprised at being elected president of SDS and realized he was, in part, president in name only. He said he would be going to personally visit Saigon, Viet Nam, etc., in the near future. His purpose for such a visit was not explained to source. OGLESBY reported that in the fall of 1965, he would address the United States Congress. He explained that while Congress was in session, SDS would enter and he would make himself heard. He said he knew he would be arrested out that he would be heard by Congress.

[REDACTED] b1

ROBERT M. PARDON

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

Source advised that prior to the SDS National Convention held during June, 1968 ROBERT PARDUN was the SDS Internal Education Secretary.

[REDACTED] b1

JOHN ROSSEN

The "Chicago Daily News," issue of January 16, 1962, in an article captioned "An Inside Look at Castro in Chicago," described ROSSEN as having founded the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC), Chicago Chapter, in June, 1960 and being its current chairman. The article stated further he was a CP candidate for Mayor of St. Louis, Missouri, in 1944; was CP organizer and extolled communism; admitted he quit the CP in 1957 when Russia interfered with the Hungarian uprising and in 1957 he pleaded the Fifth Amendment before a House Committee in Un-American Activities hearing when questioned regarding this affiliation with the CP.

[REDACTED] b1

JEFF SEGAL 711.

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

Source advised that one of the main speakers at the May Day Rally Celebration of the CP held in Chicago on May 1, 1966, was JEFF SEGAL.

[REDACTED] b1

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Source advised that prior to SEGAL's recent incarceration for violating the Selective Service Laws, SEGAL was the SDS National Draft Coordinator.

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

ANDREW RAKOCHY

The October-November, 1966 issue of "Progressive Labor," published by the PLP, lists RAKOCHY as the midwest representative of PLP.

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

MIKE SPIEGEL

Source advised that prior to the SDS National Convention held during June, 1968 MIKE SPIEGEL was the SDS National Secretary.

[REDACTED] b1

PEGGY TERRY

Source advised that as [REDACTED] was a member of the CP.

[REDACTED] PEGGY TERRY b1

[REDACTED] b1

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BILL WATSON

The "Register Guard," a daily newspaper in Eugene, Oregon, in the issue of November 20, 1967, contained an article which read in part as follows: "During November, 1967 BILL WATSON agreed that probably one of the world's greatest living leaders is Premier FIDEL CASTRO of Cuba - an avowed enemy of the United States. WATSON defended CASTRO's actions in executing some of his political enemies by contending that "In the context of rebuilding a country," most great leaders have had to perform similar acts.

The "Oregon Daily Emerald," University of Oregon Campus newspaper, issue of November 13, 1967, contained a letter to the editor from BILL WATSON, wherein WATSON claimed that he and other draft resisters would rebel if they were enlisted in the Armed Forces.

MIKE ZAGARELL

Source advised that as [REDACTED] MIKE ZAGARELL was the CP, USA National Youth Director. [REDACTED] b1

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APPENDIX

CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND
THE BILL OF RIGHTS (CCDBR)

The CCDBR maintains headquarters in Rooms 801-803,
431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

original stated purposes of the CCDBR continue to be adhered
to, with CRILEY continuing as the motivating force behind the
Committee. The Board of Directors, however, now includes many
individuals in the religious, educational and labor fields who
are not known as CP members.

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APPENDIX

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE,
CHICAGO CHAPTER

A source advised in October, 1960, that the Chicago Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) was formed during the summer of 1960 at Chicago, Illinois, under the direct guidance and leadership of RICHARD CRILEY, a member of the State Committee, Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

A second source in August, 1960, furnished a leaflet entitled "What Is Really Happening in Cuba?" distributed by the FPCC in Chicago. The aims and purposes of the FPCC as set forth in this leaflet include the following: "To disseminate the truth, to combat untruth; to publish and distribute factual information which the United States mass media suppresses. In general, to contribute to foundations for peace, friendship, and understanding between ourselves and the Cuban people." The leaflet reflects the FPCC plans to accomplish these aims: "By mailing of information bulletins; organizing public meetings and forums; providing speakers, movies, and slides for meetings of interested organizations, placing ads in newspapers; to visit Cuba and see for themselves what conditions really are."

A third source advised on March 9, 1964, that there has been no activity of the FPCC in Chicago since late November, 1963, and for all intents and purposes the organization is defunct.

[REDACTED]

b1

APPENDIXFAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening in Cuba," placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. CHARLES A. SANTOS-BUCH identified himself and ROBERT TABER as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and TABER obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

On May 16, 1963, a source advised that during the first two years of the FPCC's existence there was a struggle between Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) elements to exercise their power within the FPCC and thereby influence FPCC policy. This source added that during the past year there had been a successful effort by FPCC leadership to minimize the role of these and other organizations in the FPCC so that their influence as of May, 1963, was negligible.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 11450.

On May 20, 1963, a second source advised that VINCENT "TED" LEE, FPCC National Office Director, was then formulating FPCC policy and had indicated that he had no intention of permitting FPCC policy to be determined by any other organization. This source stated that LEE believed that the FPCC should advocate resumption of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States and should support the right of Cubans to manage their revolution without interference from other nations. LEE did not advocate supporting the Cuban revolution per se.

2APPENDIX

The November 23, 1963, edition of "The New York Times" reported that Senator THOMAS J. DODD of Connecticut had called FPCC "the chief public relations instrument of the Castro network in the United States." It is to be noted that Senator DODD was a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which twice conducted hearings on the FPCC.

The December 27, 1963, edition of "The New York World Telegram and Sun" newspaper stated that the pro-CASTRO FPCC was seeking to go out of business and that its prime activity during its lifetime had been sponsorship of pro-CASTRO street rallies and mass picket lines, and the direction of an active propaganda mill highlighting illegal travel-to-Cuba campaigns. Its comparatively brief span of life was attributed to mounting anti-CASTRO American public opinion, the 1962 Congressional hearings which disclosed FPCC financing by CASTRO's United Nations Delegation, and ultimately, the bad publicity which the FPCC received from disclosure of activities on its behalf by suspected presidential assassin LEE H. OSWALD.

On February 8, 1964, the previously mentioned second source advised that V. T. LEE had recently remarked that the FPCC was dead and that there were no plans to organize another similar organization.

On April 15, 1964, a third source advised that there had not been any FPCC activity in many months and that the FPCC had been dissolved.

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APPENDIX

NEW DAY BOOKS, INC., dba
Modern Book Store (MBS)

On May 3, 1968, a source advised MBS today is the direct line successor to the original Workers Book Store, 23 South Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, established by the Communist Party (CP) in the 1920s ostensibly under the ownership of SAM HAMMERMARK, a charter member of the CP.

The aim and purpose of the MBS is to act as a receiver and purveyor for Marxist-Leninist literature as well as publications of the CPUSA.

While from its origin and through the present time MBS has been publicly announced as privately owned and operated, it is covertly controlled by the CP. The CP subsidizes the MBS from time to time, purchases literature through this outlet and makes up financial losses sustained therewith. The CP utilizes the MBS as a working point for CP of Illinois functionaries in regard to organizational and educational activities.

A second source advised on April 23, 1968, that MBS is presently located at 3230 North Broadway, Chicago, and that as of this date NATALIE MYERS, CP of Illinois State Board and CPUSA National Committee member, was the manager of the MBS.

A third source advised on May 2, 1968, that the CP of Illinois during April, 1967, opened a new branch of the MBS located at 416 West 63rd Street, Chicago, which uses the name 'Am Book Store and is managed by ISHMAEL FLORY, a current member of the CP of Illinois.

The second source advised on April 23, 1968, that New Day Books, Inc., is presently operating a mail order business at 1969, 608 South Dearborn, Chicago, and LOU DISKIN is in charge of the office at this location.

The second source advised on April 23, 1968, that LOU DISKIN as of that date was a member of the CP of Illinois Committee and the CPUSA National Committee.

Records of the Secretary of State, Springfield, Illinois, reflect that on March 18, 1964, New Day Books, Inc., which at that time was located at 56 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, was incorporated in the State of Illinois and its listed registered agent was LOU DISKIN.

1APPENDIXNATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., states as follows on page 121 concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)

"2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)

"3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for allegedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge," a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark," a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
CHICAGO BRANCH

In May, 1968, a source advised that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve as SWP national functionaries, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP national headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIXSTUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

1APPENDIXW.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARIN, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-533, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

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APPENDIX

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, states that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The "Young Socialist" newspaper was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The "Young Socialist" maintains office space at the headquarters of the YSA, Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square, West, New York City, and has a mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10002.

A characterization of the YSA is set out separately.

1APPENDIXYOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE-CHICAGO

A source advised in late November, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance-Chicago (YSA-C), formerly known as Young Socialist Supporters, had its origin in a series of informal discussions held in Chicago prior to June, 1959, among individuals who were close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The YSA-C as of November, 1959, proclaimed itself to be a city-wide revolutionary youth organization designed to build socialism in America and aimed toward youth on college campuses in the Chicago area and as being independent of all adult groupings.

According to a second source in April, 1968, the YSA-C was considered the youth group of the Chicago Branch SWP and affiliated with the national organization of the YSA in New York. The YSA-C officers as of April, 1968, were current members of the Chicago SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

1

APPENDIX

YOUTH SOCIALIST ALLIANCE-CHICAGO

A source advised in late November, 1959, that the Youth Socialist Alliance-Chicago (YSA-C), formerly known as Youth Socialist Supporters, had its origin in a series of informal discussions held in Chicago prior to June, 1959, among individuals who were close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The YSA-C as of November, 1959, proclaimed itself to be a city-wide revolutionary youth organization designed to build socialism in America and aimed toward youth on college campuses in the Chicago area and as being independent of all adult groupings.

According to a second source in April, 1968, the YSA-C was considered the youth group of the Chicago Branch SWP and affiliated with the national organization of the YSA in New York. The YSA-C officers as of April, 1968, were current members of the Chicago SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.



In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-0903

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONChicago, Illinois
August 8, 1968

Title STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C;
SEDITION

Reference Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] at Chicago. b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 22 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

OMRO

2/-

VA 5 354 PM HNC

DEFERRED 10-22-68 HNC

TO DIRECTOR (100-439848)

(PLAINTEXT)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40983)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS-SDS.

UNIVERSITY (RU)

CHAPTER SDS, CHICAGO, SPONSORING DEMONSTRATION ONE PM, OCTOBER TWENTYTHREE NEXT, AT HILLMAN FINE FOODS STORE, FOUR ZERO FIVE SOUTH STATE STREET, CHICAGO, IN SUPPORT OF CALIFORNIA GRAPE PICKERS STRIKE. RU CHAPTER ASKING SUPPORT OF OTHER SDS CHAPTERS.

CHICAGO FOLLOWING CLOSELY. CHICAGO PD, MILITARY, SECRET SERVICE, USA ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

VLH FBI WASH DC

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OCT 25 4 24 PM 1968

REC'D DIRECTOR

OCT 30 1968

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OCT 25 1968

100-439848-2421